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BULGARIA

RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY EXAMINED

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 10, 1976 pp 51-64

[Article by Zhorzheta Grigorova: "Relations Between the Bulgarian People's Republic and Turkey and Greece -- A Factor in Detente"]

[Text] Great attention was devoted to the Balkans within the broad range of international problems discussed at the 11th BCP Congress. The Congress indicated that under the conditions of a general trend toward detente in Europe and the world, Bulgaria launched intensive efforts and achieved considerable success in its relations with the Balkan countries in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. Its political course of converting the Balkans into an area of good neighborly relations, understanding and cooperation was reconfirmed as correct.¹

Emphasizing the particular significance ascribed to relations with neighboring socialist countries, the Congress noted the positive development of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The distinguishing feature of the relations between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Turkey and Greece, on the other, in the 1970's has been greater resistance to the vicissitudes of international life. This is a specific manifestation of the developing process of detente in international relations, the changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and of the results of the dynamic and fruitful foreign political activities of the Soviet state.

The worldwide factors which triggered detente, gathered into a reduced focal point in the southeastern part of Europe, which is a part of the Eastern Mediterranean as well, call for a new concept of national security. The sober-thinking ruling bourgeois circles are realizing ever more clearly that security is unstable and nondurable if it is solely based on armed forces and military blocs, and that under contemporary conditions, national security is very closely linked with lasting peace and cooperation among countries and, more especially, among neighboring countries.

In relations between Turkey and Greece and Bulgaria, this view is encouraged by the results achieved in the settlement of controversial problems. The effort made by socialist Bulgaria to normalize relations and to develop extensive cooperation with the two other countries began

to yield results in the first half of the 1950's. Controversial financial, migration, and border problems of the more distant or recent past were resolved entirely or on a long term basis. Diplomatic relations were normalized. A number of artificially-maintained hindrances and restrictions in a variety of fields were eliminated. The path to new solutions on a more enduring basis was opened.²

The 11th BCP Congress noted that relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Greece are distinguished by the stable development of political contacts and of economic and cultural cooperation. Declarations on principles of good neighborly relations agreed upon by both parties are regarded as a "solid foundation" for the further development of relations.³

Stability is the summarized manifestation of a set of new features which have emerged in Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations in recent years. They can be classified in four main groups:

The basic principles of overall relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence were adopted;

The area of contact along state and social lines was broadened, and its systematic nature was intensified;

The content of economic and cultural ties took on a long range aspect and was brought up to date;

Joint discussion of basic and topical international problems of mutual interest is becoming a permanent element in bilateral relations.

In their totality, these new aspects insure a new stage in our relations characterized by the dominance of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

1. Principles of Peaceful Coexistence -- General Basis of Relations

In accordance with the interests of its socialist development and the struggle of the nations for peace and social progress, socialist Bulgaria regards the policy of peaceful coexistence as a basic trend in its foreign policy toward capitalist countries. As a result of its efforts, applied jointly with the other members of the socialist comity, detente has in recent years become the determining trend in international relations. It is based on the adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the main norm for relations between socialist and capitalist states.

Beginning in the 1970's, Bulgaria signed a number of bilateral documents with Greece and Turkey in which the principles of peaceful coexistence are being adopted to an ever greater extent as a basis for overall relations among them and between them and other countries.

In Bulgarian-Greek relations, this line appeared in 1971⁴ and developed at a relatively rapid pace, being transformed into a special document in which

the entire set of principles was developed as the general basis of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and of their relations with other countries. The 31 May 1973 Declaration on the Principles of Good Neighborhood Relations, Understanding, and Cooperation stipulates that the two countries regard the basis on which they are willing to develop their relations as follows: "Sovereign equality between countries, nonuse of force or the threat of force, particularly in terms of the inviolability of borders, respect for the territorial integrity of the states, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in domestic affairs, respect for the rights of man and basic freedoms, equality and self-determination for the peoples, and cooperation between the countries and conscientious implementation of obligations arising from contracts and international law."⁵

The Bulgarian-Greek declaration elaborated the line of the members of the socialist comity on the political establishment of a bilateral base for peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states.

The principles governing Bulgarian-Greek relations proclaimed come close to the possible general base for relations among the countries participating in the preparations for the European conference which was suggested somewhat later -- on 4 July 1973 -- by the Soviet delegation to the Helsinki Conference. In spirit and form, they are consistent with the Declaration on Principles of the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, for which reason, even following the adoption of the European document, they continue to play the role of a specific bilateral foundation for Bulgarian-Greek relations.

The long term role of the Bulgarian-Greek declaration is backed by the creative understanding it contains of the policy of peaceful coexistence. It stipulates that with the development and expansion of relations between the two countries, the content and forms of implementation of the principles will be enriched. New opportunities to achieve this were opened up by the restoration of the Greek parliamentary system on 24 July 1974. At the very first meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the two countries in January 1975 in Sofia, the significance of the Declaration on Good Neighborhood Relations, Understanding, and Cooperation was emphasized as the basis of relations, and opportunities for intensifying its practical role were sought.⁶

The 1 August 1975 Concluding Act of the European conference, also signed by Bulgaria and Greece, contains a broad platform for multilateral and bilateral decision making by the European countries on a stable and principled basis, including Bulgaria and Greece. "Naturally, when we speak...of the implementation of the principles and stipulations of the final Helsinki document, we, the governments and peoples of the Balkan countries, have in mind mainly our contribution to and share of responsibility for the solution of such problems in the Balkans," stated Todor Zhivkov, Bulgarian People's Republic State Council Chairman, in the course of his official visit to Turkey in April 1976.⁷

In Bulgarian-Turkish relations, the political acknowledgment of the principles of peaceful coexistence as a basis for relations began to be recognized as of 1967.⁸ A more enduring and general application was achieved in the 1970's. In December 1975, four months after the successful completion of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, the relations between the two countries were organized on a broader political base. The Declaration on the Principles of Good Neighborhood Relations and Cooperation Between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Turkey was adopted on 3 December 1975.

The Bulgarian-Turkish declaration created a broad and lasting political base for relations between the two countries. In it, Bulgaria and Turkey adopted the following principles as guides for relations between them and with other countries: "sovereign equality; respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; nonuse of force or the threat of force; border inviolability; state territorial integrity; peaceful settlement of disputes; nonintervention in domestic affairs; respect for the rights of man and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and convictions; equality of nations and the right to determine their destinies; cooperation among countries; and conscientious implementation of obligations in accordance with international law." Through this, and in a bilateral document, the Bulgarian and Turkish governments confirmed the principles adopted in the Concluding Act of the European Conference, regarding them as a basis for relations between the two countries, precisely as countries with different socioeconomic systems. This approach involves a view of the Helsinki principles coinciding with the formulation developed two months later at the 25th CPSU Congress, to the effect that this is a set of principles which "both in letter and spirit, are consistent with the requirements of peaceful coexistence."⁹

The Bulgarian-Turkish document is one of the first documents of this nature adopted by two European countries with different social systems since the signing of the Concluding Act in Helsinki. It shows that the European document does not eliminate the need for the establishment of a specific base for peaceful coexistence between individual socialist and capitalist countries, considering this as a means of supporting the effort to transform European detente into a lasting process. "We believe," said S. Demirel, Turkish Prime Minister, in the course of his visit to Bulgaria in December 1975, "That the Turkish-Bulgarian Good Neighborhood Relations and Cooperation Declaration which will be concluded will create a new atmosphere and introduce greater dynamism into our mutual relations."¹⁰

The following basic trends revealed in the European document are further concretized in the 3 December 1975 Bulgarian-Turkish Declaration: in bilateral relations -- expansion of economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation and trade, cultural, tourist and sports exchanges, and exchange of views on all levels; in international problems -- strengthening of peace, security and cooperation in Europe, achieving general and total disarmament under strict and effective international control, and cooperation within international organizations and at international conferences.

The nature and content of the declaration show its close links with the higher legal and political level achieved in the relations between East and West. At the same time, they show convincingly that this is a natural stage in the development of specific Bulgarian-Turkish relations in the postwar years, beginning in particular in the 1970's.

2. Contact Along State and Social Lines -- An Effective Instrument of Detente

The increased significance of governmental and social contacts in developing and asserting the dominating positions of peaceful coexistence has been a distinguishing feature of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations in recent years. Systematic meetings, richer in content and form, are being held by statesmen, parliamentarians, and public figures on all levels and in all fields of life. Basic and topical international problems and bilateral political, economic, and cultural relations are being discussed jointly; a broad range of problems of mutual interest is being earmarked and resolved in practice.

Governmental contacts on the highest level play a leading role in this connection. Immediately following them, we see the role of the periodic encounters between the foreign affairs ministers which have developed.

They are of a more systematic nature in Bulgarian-Turkish relations. Beginning in 1966, such meetings have been held annually for 10 years, with the exception of 1969 and 1971. Excluding talks between the foreign ministers of the two countries during United Nations General Assembly sessions, 13 meetings were held during those years: 6 between the foreign ministers and 7 between the prime ministers of the two countries, or between the Bulgarian State Council Chairman and the Turkish Prime Minister and President. Contacts began to be particularly intensive in the middle of 1975. In just one year, three meetings were held by T. Zhivkov, Bulgarian People's Republic State Council Chairman, and S. Demirel, the Turkish Prime Minister, and in June 1976, by T. Zhivkov and President Jemal Gursel. The foreign ministers exchanged visits as well. Along with the traditional exchange of visits, the discussions of interest because of their specific and businesslike nature between the two prime ministers, held in 1974 during the brief visit paid to Istanbul by St. Todorov, and the meetings in Edirne and Helsinki in 1975 between T. Zhivkov and S. Demirel, were also noteworthy.

Governmental contacts between Bulgaria and Greece were established earlier. The foreign affairs ministers of the two countries exchanged visits for the first time in postwar history in 1964. The initial talks were encouraging. However, the delay in the Greek democratization process, beginning in July 1965, and its culmination in the military coup of 21 April 1967, left their mark on relations, limiting them to the implementation of the 12 1964 agreements. Even after the resumption of the encounters in 1970, and until a civilian government was set up in July 1974, they continued to be irregular, and did not reach the higher governmental level. A decisive

step was taken in 1975. Whereas until 1974 the foreign affairs ministers of the two countries paid the neighboring country one visit each and held an exchange of views in the course of two brief stays in Athens on the part of the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in less than a year and a half, five encounters were held: three between State Council Chairman T. Zhivkov and Greek Prime Minister C. Caramanlis, and in April 1976 with President K. Tsatsos, and two between the foreign affairs ministers.

The solution of basic problems and the more significant positive changes which occurred in Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations are most closely linked with the intensification of governmental meetings. This strengthens personal contacts and talks among the highest leaders, as a particularly important means of strengthening good neighborly relations and cooperation between Bulgaria and its southern neighbors. Thus the Bulgarian policy with the capitalist countries in the Balkans is developing, under specific conditions, the international experience in the use of personal contact among statesmen of socialist and capitalist countries in the interests of detente.

Relations between representative authorities are also contributing to the stability of the process of detente between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Turkey and Greece, on the other. In recent years, Bulgarian-Turkish parliamentary relations have been further developed, as manifested in the systematic contacts and the higher level of the delegations. Turkey has set up a parliamentary group for friendship with the Bulgarian National Assembly. As to parliamentary contacts between Bulgaria and Greece, given the consequences of the abolition of the parliamentary regime in Greece for the seven years following 21 April 1967, the role of contacts between the parliaments, in terms of good neighborly relations, is meeting with proper understanding in the governmental circles of both countries.¹¹

In recent years, interdepartmental contact has become widespread. This applies mainly to trade, transportation and communications, and a number of other economic ministries. It is most closely linked with the activities of the mixed commissions for economic cooperation, as well as the traditional international fairs in Smyrna, Salonika and Plovdiv. The links between a number of related departments are taking on an organized and developed aspect through the adoption of direct cooperation protocols.

The enduring nature of the positive results of governmental policies is directly linked with the backing given such policies by the broad popular masses and political and professional organizations. The ever more systematic contacts between the Fatherland Front National Council, in Bulgaria, and the Popular Republican Party, and between the BZNS and the Justice Party, in Turkey, and between the trade unions of the two countries are indicative in this connection. In 1975, contact and interaction were established between the BZNS and the Democratic Center Alliance¹² and between Bulgarian and Greek trade union and youth organizations. Women's, cooperative, church, and other delegations are exchanging visits.

The spirit of cooperation and understanding which imbues the broadest possible governmental and social circles, ranging from heads of state to primary state and social units, gives a realistic content to the policy of detente between socialist and capitalist countries, promoting mutual trust as a basic political and psychological factor, and as a major support of such a policy.

3. New Level of Economic and Cultural Cooperation

As is the case with international relations, a particular characteristic of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations in the 1970's has been the long term nature and modernization of forms of economic and cultural cooperation. The new features of this cooperation can be seen clearly in several areas.

a. The 1964 line of developing trade relations on the basis of the five-year agreements concluded in March 1970 and February 1975 is being continued in Bulgarian-Greek relations. No particular changes will be seen in terms of quantitative indices: between 1971 and 1975, the average annual trade was equal to about 40 million leva, whereas in the second half of the 1960's, it averaged about 32 million leva. In 1975, however, there was a real jump -- trade reached 84 million leva, as compared with a total of 113 million leva for the previous four years.¹³ In the 1970's, Bulgarian industrial goods became the basis of exports to Greece. Exports of machine-building and metal-processing, chemical, fuel, timber-processing and canning enterprises assumed an enduring and expanding role. Interest in Bulgarian lifts, telephone and office equipment, and fuels and steel output increased. Bulgaria became a stable purchaser of some goods produced by the Greek metal-processing and chemical industries, textile, knitted, and leather goods, fuels, ores and cotton, and important Greek agricultural exports, such as olives, oranges, and lemons.¹⁴

The pace and scale of Bulgarian-Turkish trade remained more limited in the 1970's. The 11 June 1974 new trade agreement, like the February 1955 accord, was an annual one. At the same time, it offers certain new opportunities for improving trade, as it includes the most favored nation clause. Clearing is replaced by payment in convertible currency, and other facilities are stipulated, as well. Bulgarian-Turkish trade averaged 26 million leva annually between 1971 and 1975, as compared with 10.5 million leva for the previous five-year period. This was the result, essentially, of the trade in the past two years. In 1974, trade reached 33.5 million leva; in 1975, it exceeded 51 million leva.¹⁵ In the past five years, Bulgarian metal-processing goods have assumed the leading role in exports to Turkey, followed by fuels and chemicals. Beginning in 1975, Bulgaria is also exporting electric power to Turkey. The permanent elements in Bulgarian imports from Turkey are agricultural goods of major importance to the Turkish export trade -- lemons, olives, and oranges, and of late, grapefruit, along with sunflower cake, Oriental tobacco, and ores.¹⁶

As a whole, in the 1970's, and in particular in 1975, the volume of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish trade has increased considerably; new goods were added to the commodity lists. Industrial goods are expanding their position considerably, while traditional goods of enduring interest to the parties have maintained their volume. The economic development of the three countries and their territorial proximity continue to offer new opportunities for the broadening of commodity lists, and demand a flexible approach to the establishment of trade facilities.

b. Under the conditions of accelerated postwar economic development rates and the scientific and technical revolution, new and broader possibilities and criteria governing the relations among countries with different social systems emerged, and characterize the Balkan countries as well, to a greater or lesser extent. Beginning with the 1970's, bilateral mixed commissions and committees operating on the governmental level and long-term plans for economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation developed in the Balkans too, as important means of broadening economic and scientific and technical relations. A basis was laid for production cooperation and the marketing of industrial commodities, the exchange of licenses and technical documentation, and cooperation in a number of new areas such as agriculture, the utilization of border river waters, exchange of electric power, and others. Bulgaria is contributing actively to this, pursuing a line of mutually advantageous, long-term and large-scale economic and scientific and technical cooperation with all the countries throughout the world, consistently devoting attention to relations with neighboring countries.

On 8 October 1971, a Bulgarian-Greek agreement was concluded, establishing a mixed governmental commission for economic cooperation designed to assist the governments in the development of economic, industrial, scientific, technical, and tourist cooperation between the two countries. On 25 November 1972, an open-end Bulgarian-Greek agreement on economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation was signed, paving the way for relations between the two countries on a broader scale, through the use of contemporary forms of cooperation in industry, transportation, agriculture, and other fields.

Problems in the reciprocal use of hydraulic power resources and electric power, joint production of industrial commodities based on the division of labor, and a number of other economic problems were discussed at the four sessions of the mixed Bulgarian-Greek economic commission held in 1975. A number of agreements on specific problems were concluded. The Bulgarian national exhibit held in Athens in 1976 also contributed to this cooperation.

A Bulgarian-Turkish economic commission was established on 9 February 1972. It launched practical efforts to develop economic relations between the two countries. It earmarked measures for industrial cooperation, the broadening and increasing of variety in trade, and so on.

The 13 September 1975 agreement on long-term economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation concluded between Bulgaria and Turkey introduced a new aspect into the situation. Covering a five-year period, it raised Bulgarian-Turkish relations to a new level and provided a starting point for the conclusion of a number of Bulgarian-Turkish agreements in various fields regulated by the commission. It is to be expected that the initial practical results of this cooperation, based on the production of motor and electric fork lifts and Bulgarian all-purpose lathes, will be followed by further steps.

Practical experience has demonstrated that bilateral governmental commissions and their permanent and temporary authorities, and agreements on economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation are forms of new and more dynamic and effective organization of economic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Bulgaria and Greece, and their development on a broad scale using contemporary methods. Obviously, the main thing now is to insure the fullest possible utilization of the potential for achieving practical results.

c. The development of international economic exchange and cultural relations and tourism, which have accelerated under the conditions of detente, upgrades the role of transportation and communications in international life. The significance of these circumstances for Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey is enhanced by their geographic situation as a link among three continents. This also provides broad opportunities for cooperation among them in the transit shipment of goods and passengers.

In the 1970's new aspects in the development of transportation and communications between Bulgaria and its southern neighbors came into existence. Particular attention is being paid to rail transportation as basic. The new Svilengrad-Istanbul railway was inaugurated on 4 October 1971. It was built by Bulgaria and Turkey jointly, and provides a number of advantages as compared with the old line. In order to meet the requirements of Bulgarian-Greek rail transportation, Greece undertook preparations in 1975 for the reconstruction and modernization of the Athens-Salonika and Salonika-Kulata railroad.

Measures with a view to the development of the other types of transportation are also being implemented. Bulgaria is renovating the highway which forms a part of the international Athens-Moscow route. A new bus line from Istanbul to Silistra will be inaugurated.

After an exchange of views over a period of years on the problem of the use of the Salonika port for the transit shipment of goods imported and exported by Bulgaria, an agreement was signed between the Salonika port authority and the DESPREL, the Bulgarian shipping enterprise, in April 1973. The importance of this decision is confirmed by the fact that this is the closest Mediterranean port for shipping goods, for Bulgaria, while for Greece this provides the conditions for the development of the port as a major maritime gate in Northern Greece. On 15 February 1975, a new two-

year accord was signed by these agencies. The volume of Bulgarian goods passing through the port of Salonika in transit is increasing annually. The 1975 tonnage showed an increase of 47% in 1975 as compared with 1974. The solution of the problem of Bulgarian goods transit through the port of Salonika on the basis of a governmental agreement would facilitate the resettling of a number of problems -- organizational, technical, administrative, and others -- of decisive importance to the development of the port. Also awaiting solution are some problems pertaining to Greek transit shipments through Bulgarian Danube ports, Bulgarian transit shipments through Turkey, and Turkish transit shipments through Bulgaria.

Further concern with the modernization of rail and road transportation and the establishment of new communications facilities for the expansion of transit flow to other countries through the territories of these nations will have major economic and political consequences of importance exceeding their boundaries.

d. The development of cultural and scientific cooperation on a planned long-term basis is an important new feature of the relations between Bulgaria and Greece and Turkey. As one of the manifestations of the general trend toward improvement in the relations among countries with different social systems, it also has its specific basis in the historical ties and interaction among the Balkan peoples, as well as the development of cultural relations, scientific contact and exchanges in the transitional years.

The beginning of the planning of cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece goes back to 1964. It reached a higher stage in the 1970's and is now developing as a permanent practice. A long-term legal basis for the development of relations in the fields of culture and science is being created by the two countries. This is being aided by the 31 May 1973 Agreement on Cooperation Between the Governments of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Greece in the field of culture, covering a five-year term. It provides opportunities for contact and cooperation between scientific, educational, and cultural institutes and organizations in the two countries. The development of scientific cooperation is more specifically provided for by the 16 November 1973 Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation concluded between the Bulgarian Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education and the Greek Ministry of Culture and Science, encouraging direct contact between institutes and scientific organizations and the academies of sciences of the two countries, and cooperation in basic and applied scientific research.

The importance of this approach is confirmed by results. Large groups -- opera, theater, and dance -- have in the past five years exchanged visits for the first time. The exchange of exhibits -- artistic and literary -- and of motion pictures has intensified. Greece is publishing the works of Bulgarian political figures and scientists. Scientific gatherings are being sponsored, and national holidays are being celebrated on a reciprocal basis.

The first planning of cultural and scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey was organized in 1974, when a two-year cultural cooperation program was adopted. It, like the subsequent two-year program for scientific and cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey, covering 1976 and 1977, created a base for the development of bilateral relations in science, education, culture, art, motion pictures, television, radio, sports, and physical culture, through direct cooperation and an exchange of individuals, literature, motion pictures, information, and documentation. The progress noted in the implementation of such plans is evidenced in increased sports exchanges, the more frequent exchange of art exhibits, and the tours by large art ensembles and meetings of scientists sponsored. The publication of Bulgarian fiction and political literature in Turkey is increasing.

There are substantial opportunities for the further development of cultural and scientific exchanges and cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey and Greece. The broad platform set forth in the Concluding Act of the Helsinki Conference and the specific traditions and experience in Balkan relations provide a broad and substantive base for substantial positive changes in these directions.

4. International Problems -- A New Realm of Bilateral Cooperation

The policy of trading information and the rapprochement of positions supported by the individual countries on a number of important international problems are major features revealing the broadening and enrichment of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations. This development in these relations began at the end of the 1960's. It confirms the higher development of cooperation among them.

The Cyprus problem has invariably figured in bilateral talks. Discussions on it have involved reciprocal information and an exchange of views having to do with support of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonaffiliation of the Republic of Cyprus. Along with the other socialist and other freedom-loving countries, Bulgaria rejects NATO's plans, which undermine the Republic's independence. It supports the suggestion by the Soviet Union that an international conference be held on the Cyprus problem under the sponsorship of the United Nations.

The consistency and principle-mindedness evidenced, and the fact that Bulgaria seeks no temporary advantage for itself, nor does it utilize adverse situations for Greece and Turkey to damage them, create a guarantee of Bulgaria's stabilizing role in the solution of existing and potential problems, and leads to understanding and approval on the part of its southern neighbors. In this way, Bulgaria's policy on the Cyprus problem is becoming an enduring favorable factor in the development of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations.

A characteristic feature of the relations between Bulgaria and Greece and Turkey is the fact that along with the solution of bilateral problems, ever

greater attention has been devoted in recent years to the situation in the Balkans and, in this connection, to problems of cooperation on a multi-lateral basis. The mutual desire expressed for further improvement of the circumstances in this area, not regarded separately but in close relation to the efforts designed to achieve stability in the world and security in Europe and throughout the world, is an important starting point for a realistic and constructive approach to inter-Balkan cooperation.

In the 1970's, when a considerable improvement in the relations among Balkan and European countries was achieved in the spirit of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the potential for such cooperation has been increasing. Yet complications in Greek-Turkish relations caused by the Cyprus crisis and disputes pertaining to the Aegean Sea, as well as the differences existing between some other Balkan countries, have also made their mark. On the other hand, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which began in 1973 and was successfully concluded in 1975, has paved the way for all-European decisions on problems of major importance to the entire continent and its individual areas. The achievement of all-European results has been made easier and been expedited for the Balkan countries themselves in many cases, since adverse Balkan factors have a more limited effect when considered against an all-European background.

Such contradictory circumstances demand a careful assessment of the expediency of inter-Balkan cooperation in each specific case. The possible unification of some Balkan countries against others, as well as allowing them, as a group, to be pitted against other European countries, would not only undermine inter-Balkan cooperation, but would be a setback to the bilateral relations improved through such great effort.

Realizing the existing circumstances, the Bulgarian government supports inter-Balkan cooperation in areas acceptable and of interest to all Balkan nations, serving detente in Europe and throughout the world. It is contributing to the further development of cooperation in tourism, sports, science, culture, and social activities launched successfully in the 1960's. In this spirit, Bulgarian specialists participated in the meeting of experts on economic and technical problems held between 26 January and 5 February 1976 in Athens, on the initiative of C. Caramanlis, Prime Minister of Greece, at which Albania was the only Balkan country not represented.

The Middle Eastern crisis has a permanent place in Bulgarian-Greek and in particular, Bulgarian-Turkish talks. The similarity of positions is becoming apparent with regard to basic problems -- withdrawal of occupation forces from all occupied territories, respect for the legitimate rights of all peoples and states in the area, and guaranteeing the national unity and legitimate rights of the Arab people where Palestine is concerned.

This has become possible thanks to the separation of the governments of Turkey and Greece from the pro-Israeli and anti-Arab stand adopted by the United States in the Middle East, which created a potential for change in their attitude toward liberation processes in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The increasing similarity of positions will take on new significance under the conditions of ripe need for the convening of the Geneva conference on the Middle East and the U.S. attempts to limit the influence of detente where this part of the world is concerned.

The political base for cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey and Greece is also broadened by means of the overall positive evaluation of the treaties concluded between the USSR, Poland, GDR, and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other, as well as the quadripartite West Berlin agreement codifying the most important results of the liberation struggle waged by the European peoples during World War II and after it, and the Soviet-American treaties establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence as a basis for relations between the USSR and the United States.

The successful conclusion of the European conference which passed the concluding act signed by Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey, as well, on 1 August 1975, offers new opportunities for cooperation both on an all-European and a bilateral basis. The readiness to apply the principles set forth in the concluding act proclaimed by the three countries,¹⁷ and the concretizing of these principles in their immediate bilateral relations not only contributes to enhancing the political effect of the Helsinki results, but also intensifies their role as a factor of actual and direct importance to peace and security in Europe as a whole and, specifically, in the Balkans.

Under such circumstances, the jointly proclaimed support of universal and total disarmament as a joint objective, and support of the idea of holding a world conference on disarmament, as well as partial measures, pertaining in particular to the reaching of an agreement on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe without endangering the security of any given country, become particularly important.¹⁸

The joint discussion of these and a number of other international problems enriches the content of bilateral relations and broadens their foreign political role, transforming them into a direct encouragement to the process of European and worldwide detente.

As a whole, practical relations between Bulgaria and Greece and Bulgaria and Turkey in the 1970's have revealed both the complexity and variety, as well as the specific meaning of stability, as a determining feature, in the relations among countries with different social systems in the stage of detente in international life. Within the complex of relations, exchange and interaction are asserting themselves as determining factors in general laws, such as the creation of a lasting legal, political and psychological base for relations through the adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the universal base for bilateral relations and relations with other countries, and the development of a system of contacts for the joint discussion and solution of bilateral and international problems on a governmental and interdepartmental level, as well

as among the public in the individual countries; and the establishment of a broad material and intellectual base for peaceful relations, making use of economic and scientific and technical means and scientific and cultural exchange and interaction.

The common legal, political, economic, and other foundations established for overall Bulgarian-Turkish and Bulgarian-Greek relations provide a broad potential for the development of bilateral relations and the assertion of peace, security and cooperation as determining features in the Balkans, and for the upgrading of the role of the three countries as a factor in detente. However, the implementation of these opportunities depends on a number of heterogenous factors.

Detente, which has become a dominant trend in international relations, is having a beneficial impact on circumstances in the Balkans, specifically, on the course of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations. Yet there remain major forces, including some signatories of the concluding act of the European conference, which generally or in specific directions are creating hindrances to the normalization process. In the Balkans, they are operating both through the North Atlantic Alliance and other Western alliances and organizations with which Turkey and Greece are affiliated, as well as the direct influence of the United States and its serious attempts to distort this process in the Eastern Mediterranean area.

The level achieved in Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations is a major prerequisite to subsequent steps in a positive direction. However, here again a number of obstacles of a political or other nature appear.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is playing an enduring positive role in the intensification of detente thanks to its systematically implemented policy of peaceful coexistence with Turkey and Greece and support of the independence and integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The trend toward democratization and stabilization in the domestic political life of Turkey and Greece is contributing to the positive development of these relations. However, to the extent that the existence of serious socioeconomic and political problems continues to bring about changes in the internal ratio of forces, conditions governing the development and assertion of the current course will change as well. Under such circumstances too, however, we can expect lasting and long-term development of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The experience acquired in the postwar internal political development of the two countries shows that, as is the case with the other capitalist countries, the leading bourgeois circles in Turkey and Greece are following the worldwide trend toward taking into account and more realistically adapting to the change in the ratio of forces in favor of peace and socialism. In the foreign political sphere, this means acceptance of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The condition of relations among the socialist countries as a whole in Europe and specifically, in the Balkans, plays an important role in the development of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Greece on a systematic and principled basis. The line pursued in the development of such relations is having a favorable influence. At the same time, the pursuit of nationally limited objectives by individual countries could become a major restraining factor.

All of this indicates some of the major reasons for describing the circumstances in the Balkans as complex and contradictory, as they were termed in the Accountability Report delivered at the 11th BCP Congress.¹⁹ Also obvious, at the same time, is the need for a further process of detente in this area, achieved by influencing the entire set of factors determining it.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP za Perioda Mezhdurazmesniya i Edinadesetiyata Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi" [BCP Central Committee Report on the Period Between the 10th and 11th Congresses and Forthcoming Tasks], Partizdat, 1976, pp 25, 27.
2. "Deveti Septemvri i Balkanite" [9 September and the Balkans], Bulgarian Academy of Sciences publication, 1974, pp 117-217.
3. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., p 26.
4. Bulgarian-Greek Communiqué, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 3 July 1971.
5. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 2 June 1973.
6. Joint Bulgarian-Greek Communiqué, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 11 January 1975.
7. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 10 April 1976.
8. Bulgarian-Turkish Communiqué, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 1 June 1967.
9. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS i Ocherednyye Zadachi Partii v Oblasti Vnutrenney i Vneshney Politiki" [CPSU Central Committee Report and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy], Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p 22.
10. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 2 December 1975.
11. Joint Bulgarian-Greek Communiqué, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 11 January 1975.
12. Until February 1976, it was known as the "United Center-New Forces."
13. Yearbooks of Bulgarian Foreign Trade, statistical data for the corresponding years; 1975 data from the Central Statistical Administration.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Bulgarian-Turkish Communique, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 5 September 1975; Bulgarian-Greek Communiques, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 15 January 1976 and 12 April 1976.
18. Joint Bulgarian-Greek Communique, 12 April 1976; Joint Bulgarian-Turkish Communique, 7 June 1976.
19. T. Zhivkov, o. cit., pp 26-27.

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BCP GREETINGS MESSAGE TO JOURNALISTS CONGRESS

Sofia BTA Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 13 Dec 76 AU

[BCP Central Committee greetings message to Fifth Bulgarian Journalists Union Congress read by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee Secretary, at Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia on 13 December]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee most cordially greets you--the delegates and guests at the Fifth Bulgarian Journalists Union Congress--all creative workers and toilers of the mass information and propaganda media--and conveys to you its militant communist greetings.

The Fifth Bulgarian Journalists Union Congress is a remarkable event, not only for the workers engaged in press, radio, television, information agencies and book publishing. This is a remarkable event in the total sociopolitical and cultural life of our motherland.

For this is a congress of representatives of the Bulgarian journalists, who inherited exceptionally great traditions, beginning from the revolutionary sources of Botev's works. Through the most remarkable achievements of the progressive press in the past, traditions that were developed by the example and contribution of the party--communist journalism which is infinitely devoted to the people--traditions that expanded with an unprecedented upsurge of our socialist press after the victory of 9 September 1944.

For this is a congress of Bulgarian journalists, of the most honest, the most courageous and talented ones, journalists who always marched under the banner of the Communist Party, over the hard paths of Buzludhza Mountain, and through the fire of the struggle against capitalism and fascism, through the heroic days of revolution, and through the difficult paths of the first Five-Year Plan periods. Through the most decisive and most creative 20 years in our history--the 20 years that were marked by the April Plenum.

For this is a congress of the largest creative mass organization in our country, one of the frontranking detachments of our socialist intelligentsia, which rallies several thousand working people, who with

their pen and word, with cameras and microphones, are devoting with inspiration their forces to the building of the material and intellectual culture of mature socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The BCP highly appreciates the noble mission and contribution of our journalists, their great role in the life of our society, their unrelenting class-party policy, their devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Loyal to the Leninist principles of party-mindedness and devotion to the people, the Bulgarian journalists consider it their lofty mission to struggle for the constant improvement of the political consciousness and creative initiative of the masses, for the construction of a new social order and for the development of anew. The contemporary Bulgarian journalist is a loyal son and assistant of the party, an infinitely loyal comrade, an inspirer and organizer of the people, a fighter standing in the front ranks of socialist construction in our motherland.

From the rostrum of the 11th BCP Congress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov once more confirmed the high appreciation of the BCP Central Committee on the correct positions and great merits of our journalists. He stated: "We could not imagine our work in building socialism, in forming a socialist personality, in developing the socialist way of life, without the active participation of the mass information and propaganda media."

Your fifth congress coincides with remarkable events in the life of our party and country. We are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the historic April plenum of the BCP Central Committee, a plenum which is of unchanging significance for our development. The April line in the sector of ideology--an inseparable part of which is also represented by the journalistic front--this is a line of consistent, militant Marxism-Leninism in action, in the daily struggle for a creative spirit aimed at the correct, scientific explanation and practical socialist reorganization of life. The unshakable principlemindedness and consistency of the April line insured the ideological and political stability of our ideological front, which in all domestic or international hardships, under all complications of upheavals in the worldwide atmosphere and in class struggle has firmly stood and is standing on correct positions, and which unshakably stood and is still standing at its militant post in building socialism and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism.

This year the 11th BCP Congress was held, a congress that accomplished a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the road we covered and of the forthcoming tasks in connection with the building of a mature socialist society. The working people, under the leadership of the party, are selflessly and with inspiration implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress in practical life. With tremendous labor and political elan they are implementing the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan under its strategic slogan "Efficiency and Quality, Quality and Efficiency."

A powerful impetus to the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the congress decisions was given by the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, which discussed and adopted decisions on the questions connected with our entire work and struggle--with the basis, as well as with the super-structure--as well as with the style of work and with the education of cadres, with moral factors and with various aspects in the individual lives of the working people, with our all-round social development. We are deeply convinced that the prospects outlined for the future, the demands and criteria set by the 11th BCP Congress and by the July Plenum will become the basic principles and guidelines of your congress too.

The Party Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the 5 years that elapsed represent a successful and fruitful period in the development of the press, radio, television, information agencies and book, publishing, and of the creative-professional organizations of journalists.

The main factor in the development of the Bulgarian Journalist Union consists in the fact that the union is closely and most strongly rallied round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and that it is following a correct ideological, political and creative line, that it is increasingly asserting itself as a united and authoritative creative organization in our country. The strength of the union lies in its unshakable Marxist-Leninist and class-party positions, in its unshakable unity round the general April line of the party, in the cohesion of all its members and generations in the struggle for the practical implementation of this April line.

The main factor in the successes achieved is the consistent and unrelenting work devoted to the implementation of the decisions of the 10th party congress. The Bulgarian journalists, as a whole, more widely and more profoundly illuminated the questions of policy and economy. They work actively for expanding socialist competition, for the purpose of implementing the counter plans, for increasing social labor productivity, for reorganizing and modernizing production, for promoting, propagating and introducing frontranking experience. In the press and in radio programs an ever increasing importance is being attached to the main tasks, processes and problems in the economic and cultural sectors, in implementing socialist social relations, in developing socialist democracy, in the reorganization of the ideological front. The shortcomings in work and manifestations alien to socialist society, as well as remnants of the past are being increasingly subjected to criticism in a more and more systematic and courageous manner. Considerable successes were achieved by our journalists and great contribution has been made by them in connection with explaining the foreign policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the consistent struggle of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries for peace and detente in international relations. The subjects of the friendship and drawing closer together with the great Soviet Union are being worked out with increasing thoroughness. The same applies to explaining our integration with the fraternal socialist countries. The tremendous achievements and achievements of the worldwide socialist system are being revealed.

The international activities of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists are expanding: The Union's relations and cooperation with progressive journalists organizations abroad, as well as with the affiliated unions in socialist countries, and above all, with the Union of Soviet Journalists, are consolidated and intensified.

Comrades, the successes achieved by mass information and propaganda media are doubtless. These successes show the considerable growth of the Bulgarian journalists and the great opportunities of their ideological-political and creative potential.

These successes are the results of the talent, mastery and industriousness of all generations of journalists, of the efforts and activities of the entire union. This should not prevent us, however, from clearly seeing and becoming aware of the existing unresolved problems and shortcomings. These shortcomings and weaknesses, as is known, were pointed out and analyzed by the party in a number of documents. The overcoming of such shortcomings can no longer be postponed or delayed.

The mass information and propaganda media are not always at the level of new tasks and criteria, they do not always and not always on time sufficiently concentrate their attention upon the main economic and social life problems. Very often, important subjects are superficially and onesidedly explained. There are frequent cases of treating minor subjects, of passive description, of cliches and monotony. A number of press materials and programs are suffering from serious shortcomings in style and language. They are lagging behind the development and the great demands of our contemporary readers, listeners and audiences. Particularly intolerable are the cases of simplification and incompetence in dealing with questions of the economic, ideological, cultural and social sectors.

Without trying to deny or to play down the successes achieved, serious shortcomings were also pointed out in the activities of the Bulgarian Journalists Union. The basic shortcomings of the Union consist in that the Union did not succeed in assuming the leadership and in becoming the leading factor in the process of completing the reorganization of our press in full conformity with the contemporary demands and necessities, in raising its total and particularly its professional-creative standards to the level of the tasks requested by our stage of development.

It is pleasant to note that the new leadership of the Union is devoting energetic efforts to overcome this shortcoming. The leadership must also in the future, with unrelenting attention, defend the communist ideological and political purity of our journalists and resolutely increase its care devoted to discovering, rallying and demonstrating journalistic talents. It must timely remark, appreciate and assist them and rely precisely upon the honest and gifted journalists. It must create an atmosphere of principlemindedness and creative search, of comradely criticism and self-criticism. In order to eliminate the causes of conservatism and self-satisfaction.

We are convinced that the leadership of the Union will well understand the essence of the new tasks and problems, that it will understand them, devote itself to them and resolve them. The BCP Central Committee wholeheartedly believes in the great and cohesive collective of your union, this strong, politically sound and talented collective. A tested, inspired and devoted collective, with well-tested capacities and with even greater potential opportunities, this collective in which we are not only unshakably confident but which we deeply respect and cherish.

Comrades, the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and of the July Plenum set new tasks to all workers and toilers of the journalistic sector. It is necessary to achieve a qualitatively high level and efficiency in the work of all links and sectors of the journalists front.

The press, the radio and television must even more perseveringly and purposefully adopt and apply the new approach of the party to problems of the country's socioeconomic development. They must expand socialist competition in connection with the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, in connection with introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress, in connection with the concentration and specialization at accelerated rates of speed, as well as in connection with the modernization of production and with the reorganization of production. The slogan "Efficiency and Quality, Quality and Efficiency" must serve as a daily inspiration from the top to the bottom and from the beginning to the end of the work of all mass information and propaganda media.

The problems of intellectual culture and the education of a new socialist personality must be even more systematically and thoroughly worked out. The great truth of our life, the creative labor, the daily working life and the beauty of free work, the development of the personality and the strength of the collective spirit, the moral superiority and humanitarianism of the builder of socialism, all these things, must be even more brilliantly described on the pages of our newspapers, periodicals and in radio and TV programs. We must more boldly and aggressively struggle against the "small truth," against shortcomings and negative phenomena in our life.

We must illuminate even more widely and more competently the processes and trends in international life, the consistent struggle that the Bulgarian People's Republic, the other socialist countries and, above all, the great Soviet Union, wage for the consolidation of peace, friendship and cooperation among the nations. It is the sacred duty of contemporary Bulgarian journalists also in the future to work ardently and nobly for the implementation of the policy of comprehensive drawing closer together between the USSR and Bulgaria, for the transformation of this policy into a powerful moving force of our material and spiritual development. The most talented pens of our journalists must be devoted to the Soviet subject, to the life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet fraternity, to the friendship and unity with the peoples of the socialist countries.

There is no doubt whatsoever that in order to conform to the contemporary requirements, the professional standards of the work in mass information and propaganda media must be raised. The improvement of the qualifications and specialization of journalists, the study of the needs and interests of the audiences, the improvement of the structure, peculiarities and technical work of the press and programs, the establishment of higher criteria for professional mastery, all these things must become the primary concern and responsibility of the leading bodies of all propaganda and mass information media, of the entire union from its chairman down to the students in the junior year of the journalism school.

We wish you, Dear Comrades, successful work and new successes, in your difficult, but wonderful and noble work. We call you to selfless labor and creative spirit in implementing in practical life the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, for the well-being and happiness of our motherland, for the triumph of our great communist ideal.

Signed: The BCP Central Committee.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LOCAL VICTIM DESCRIBES CZECHOSLOVAK BUGGING TECHNIQUES, COUNTERMEASURES

Rome LISTY in Czech No 5, Oct 76 pp 33-36

[Article by Researcher: "Are You Being Bugged?"]

[Text] They often scare us: "We know everything about you. With our techniques we are able to control your every step, your every word."

As usual, our snoops are inaccurate, and they exaggerate. First of all, the techniques are not theirs. In the field of electronics and in its miniaturization, the socialist commonwealth is at least 5 to 8 years behind the most advanced capitalist countries. Admittedly, the Ministry of the Interior has practically unlimited foreign exchange to buy snooping equipment from the West (it is terrible even to think that the state treasury is by far not so generous when it comes to importing drugs or medical electronic equipment) and is thus able to buy from its bad capitalist neighbors electronic equipment for its illegal practices. However, neither sophisticated capitalist equipment, nor the army of snoops and their civilian informers know everything. Practice indicates that the snoops know only a fraction of what they would like to know or what they should know to earn at least a part of their excessively high salaries.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake and dangerous to underestimate our snoops. Indeed, modern electronics can do many things and may often cause unpleasant surprises. But it cannot beat a person who is well informed. If our guy knows what they have and what they can prove, he is better able to judge what is sensible, what he may permit himself to do and what he better avoid. Or how to avoid surveillance. For there is an entire series of simple recipes and good advice which, if observed, can significantly reduce the effectiveness of electronic surveillance or monitoring.

In this short article we will attempt to give a brief and generally understandable review of the principal techniques used in secret surveillance. We will describe the basic instruments available on the specialized Western market, together with their parameters and capabilities. And we will offer some countermeasures that can alleviate the consequences of this unwelcome attention by our Federal Ministry of Love. We will also give the approximate price (in korunas, at the Tuzex rate of exchange) of some of the items of equipment. This will contribute toward unmasking the secret budgets of the Ministry of

the Interior and will unquestionably reinforce the healthy self-confidence of our friends when they learn how much foreign exchange our Ministry of the Interior is investing in them.

Wiretapping

Although the tapping of telephones is a crime in Czechoslovakia (pursuant to Sections 239 and 240 of the Criminal Code, it is punishable by up to 2 years imprisonment), the Ministry of the Interior is organizing with impunity the tapping of the telephones of many formerly prominent politicians (and probably also of many politicians who are now prominent). The public, however, greatly exaggerates the number of telephone taps. The problem is not the organization of telephone taps; the problem is to have enough tape recorders to record the conversations, and enough personnel to review, analyze and evaluate the tapes. The number of telephone taps in Prague can be estimated at several hundred. Together with the taps on the phones of foreign diplomatic missions, journalists and other suspicious foreigners, the number of telephone lines tapped could hardly exceed 1000.

It is fairly easy to organize a telephone tap in Czechoslovakia. In every district telephone exchange there is a reserved room through which a proportion of the lines pass, and from which civilian employees of the telephone directorate are barred. It is no great technical problem to run any selected line through this special room, and to connect the line to a tape recorder that is switched on only for the duration of the conversation. The tape recorder may be equipped with a device that automatically records also the number dialed from the tapped telephone. (On the Western market this so-called telephone number decoder costs about 4000 Tuzex korunas.)

Telephone conversations can be monitored also without access to the telephone exchange. This technique is used mostly in the West where the secret services are under stricter control and are more restricted in their modes of operation. For example, a stethoscope may be used for this purpose. It can be placed next to a telephone line anywhere, to tape-record or transmit the telephone conversation by induction. To use the stethoscope, it is not necessary to disturb the telephone wires (to remove the insulation from them), and thus the stethoscope leaves no trace. The most simple design of such a stethoscope costs about 600 Tuzex korunas.

There are many other possibilities and instruments. A telephone's microphone or earphone capsule may be replaced by another capsule, similar in appearance but with an entirely different function. In the modified capsule it is possible to install a transmitter that is supplied power either from the telephone circuit or from a separate battery (with a service life of up to 120 hours). This transmitter is able to transmit either the telephone conversations or conversations in the room when the phone is on the hook, to a distance of 250 meters where the conversations may be monitored or taped. It takes less than a minute to install or replace a capsule. If the equipment is powered from its own battery, it cannot be detected even by measuring the current in the telephone circuit when the phone is on the hook. (The price of an exchangeable capsule ranges from 600 to 1000 Tuzex korunas.)

Such equipment can be further modified: the transmitter installed in the telephone's earphone or microphone capsule, for monitoring a conversation in the room at a distance of up to 10 meters from the telephone, may be switched on and off remotely, with the help of a special coding device and by dialing the subscriber's number. For example, a room may be bugged in such a way that the bug is switched on and off through the automatic international telephone exchange. (The price of such equipment is substantial, more than 10,000 Tuzex korunas.)

There are also less sophisticated modifications of such equipment. A fairly simple alteration of the telephone circuit may result in the telephone microphone's operation even when the receiver is on the hook. In this case the telephone serves as a bug, and the conversations can be recorded directly at the telephone exchange.

It should be emphasized that in principle any telephone can be used as a bug. Through the ringing circuit, which remains switched on even when the receiver is on the hook, it is possible to listen to and record a conversation being held in the room where the telephone is installed. The monitoring or recording is done at the telephone exchange, with the help of a special filter and amplifier. The sensitivity of this method and the quality of speech reproduction, however, are inferior to what can be achieved with the methods described above. But this method is the least labor-intensive and does not involve any risk, at least in Czechoslovakia. Therefore it may be assumed that this method is used often in our country. Unplugging the telephone from the wall socket provides 100-percent protection against this type of eavesdropping.

From the foregoing it is evident that the tapping of a telephone or the use of a telephone to bug a room does not pose any special technical problem, especially not in Czechoslovakia where the entire telephone system is at the interior minister's unlimited disposal.

Countermeasures

The description of the presented techniques also suggests the countermeasures against telephone taps and the use of telephones for bugging the rooms in which they are installed. Let us present at least a few practical recommendations:

1. Important calls, in which the security officer in charge of your case might be particularly interested or which could be especially edifying to him, should be made from a public telephone booth, from the apartment of a friend who is above suspicion, or from the post office.
2. Because the operation of the tape recorders, transmitters, batteries, etc. is not and cannot be permanent, it is advisable to actively contribute toward their running down. Dial, for example, the numbers that tell you the weather forecast, what to cook today, or what is playing at the motion picture theaters in Prague. Keep these numbers playing for an hour or so. You may rest assured that 14 days later your security officer will be pleased to hear what was the weather like, and what his wife should have cooked two

weeks earlier. If you have reason to suspect that your telephone is being used to bug the room, tune your transistor radio to the Hvezda station and leave it playing for hours next to your telephone.

3. As a countermeasure we may recommend that you inconspicuously exchange your telephone for the telephone of a friend who is above suspicion, of an elderly lady or of a relative. The number of telephone models in Czechoslovakia is limited, and it probably will not be difficult to find another telephone of the same model. It is also possible to exchange the telephone's earphone or microphone capsule. This is quite simple, even an amateur can do it, and no tools are required.

4. Unplugging the telephone from the wall and removing it from the room (in case it should have a battery-powered transmitter) is 100 percent effective. Order several telephone plugs in your apartment. The telephone directorate is obliged to install them, for a small charge.

5. Those who know something about engineering can detect as follows whether their telephone is being used to bug the room in which it is installed: Leave the receiver on the hook and let your radio play in the room. Then try to measure the current in the telephone circuit, perhaps at the point where the wires enter the apartment. (In Czechoslovakia the probability that a battery-powered capsule is installed is very small. The capsule requires frequent replacement, and repeated entry into the apartment. Our police do not have such capsules, in view of their easy access to the entire telephone system.)

Bugging Rooms

Eavesdropping on buildings or rooms in which no telephone is installed likewise poses no great technical problem today.* In most cases, however, the monitored room must be visited one or more times, to install a so-called bug. The technical parameters and camouflage of these miniature microphones and transmitters, or bugs, are very diverse. They may be autonomous, with their own power supply, and hence independent of the electrical network. But in this case the service life of the bugs is limited. When connected to a source of electrical current, the bugs may be permanent, i.e., they may remain in operation for an unlimited period of time.

The smallest bug now offered on the Western market is 9 mm in diameter, 15 mm high, and weighs 6 grams. It is able to capture a conversation at a distance of up to 10 meters, and to transmit it by radio to a distance of 100 meters, where the conversation can be monitored or recorded. The battery in the smallest bug is sufficient for 12 hours of transmission. Such a toy does not come cheap: it sells today for about 1500 Tuzex korunas.

*Experience indicates that Czechoslovak State Security still is using, at least in some cases, the obsolete technique of drilling holes in the walls or ceiling and installing in them sensitive microphones that are hooked directly to a tape recorder or transmitter and supplied power from the house network. This method was used in the apartments of writer V. Havel (1968), physicist Dr Janouch (1969) and sociologist R. Battek (1975). But the installation of such equipment is difficult, labor-intensive, leaves traces and can be detected easily.

There are many other types of bugs, usually smaller than a match box. These transmitters, equipped with supersensitive electric microphones, are able to transmit conversations by radio to a distance of 3 km. Miniature Mallory batteries give such bugs a service life of up to 100 hours. Bugs with capacitor microphones eliminate random noise and thus ensure transmission of outstanding quality. The price of such a bug ranges from 500 to 1000 Tuzex korunas. The bugs often are camouflaged in various ways. As a fountain pen, watch, ash tray or cigaret lighter. The specialized laboratories of the Ministry of the Interior, or of its No 8 Administration, can easily prepare any external camouflage suitable for the conditions in Czechoslovakia, and therefore it would be a waste of time to dwell on the different variants.

It is more convenient to install a bug that is supplied power from the network, because the service life of such a bug is unlimited and one visit to the apartment is sufficient to activate the bug. Such bugs must be installed close to the electrical wiring, and thorough inspection of the wiring will reveal them. This is their drawback. To place such bugs temporarily out of commission it is sufficient to turn off the main electrical switch in the apartment. The bugs that Western firms offer are camouflaged as electric outlets, nonburning electric bulbs, a small box installed in the TV set, radio or record player, etc.

Modern electronics offers also other methods of eavesdropping, with which it is not necessary to visit the apartment that is being kept under surveillance. For example, there is an electronic stethoscope that is placed against the wall, ceiling or floor of the room that is being kept under surveillance. This stethoscope amplifies the acoustical signals from the room as much as 12,000 times, records them on a tape recorder or transmits them by radio to a distance of several hundred meters. A stethoscope with a transmitter fits into a fairly small box, 5 x 5 x 10 cm; its battery is sufficient for 100 to 120 hours of operation; its cost is about 1500 Tuzex korunas. Such stethoscopes usually are used for short-term eavesdropping, in weekend cottages, hotel rooms, etc. They are simple, do not require any major installation and leave no traces.

Bugs may be installed also in cars, usually behind the instrument panel. A professional can detect such a bug easily, because usually it is powered from the car's battery. Moreover, the fairly small range of the transmitter requires that the car be followed by another car, equipped with a receiver and tape recorder, at a distance of several hundred meters at most. The tailing car can be detected easily as soon as you leave town and drive on the open highway.

Modern laser technology offers another method of electronic eavesdropping without having to visit the room that is being kept under surveillance. With laser eavesdropping equipment it is possible to monitor a conversation in a room, at a distance of up to 800 meters. A laser beam is aimed at the room's window, from the outside. The acoustical waves--or speech--in the room causes the window pane to vibrate; the laser beam records the vibrations, and a complicated converter again transforms the vibrations into speech. The entire equipment weighs slightly more than 10 kg and looks like a telescope

mounted on a camera tripod. The price is usually higher than 10,000 Tuzex korunas. The countermeasure against this method of eavesdropping is simple: it is sufficient to install heavy curtains, to open the window, or to leave a radio playing close to the window pane.

Eavesdropping is possible also outdoors, with the help of a so-called directional microphone and an amplifier. However, such an instrument is not very effective: the maximum range for recording speech is 70 meters. The equipment looks like a portable tape recorder hung from the shoulder, connected to a 20- or 30-cm tube similar to a teleobjective.

Countermeasures Against Eavesdropping

Completely effective detection and disposal of the described eavesdropping equipment are difficult. There are many aids and instruments for detecting bugs, but they are not very effective. Of the more simple instruments we will mention a sensitive metal detector (depending on the sensitivity and equipment, the price of such a detector ranges from 200 to 2000 Tuzek korunas) that is able to find a concealed bug made of metal. An instrument is offered also for detecting a transmitter in your vicinity or in your apartment (it costs about 1000 Tuzex korunas). A professional instrument for the detection of transmitting bugs costs 10,000 Tuzex korunas. It is switched on permanently during important discussions. It monitors all frequencies from 1 MHz to 1 GHz and warns you acoustically or optically if a bug is switched on by remote control in your vicinity.

These instruments are not available to amateurs (their possession has not been outlawed in Czechoslovakia), but we can nevertheless offer some good advice to the owners of homes or apartments that are being bugged.

1. Hold important discussions and talks preferably always during walks. If you vary your routes, it is practically impossible to eavesdrop on you, unless a bug has been attached to your coat or hat. Walks are good also for your health and for strengthening your nerves. You will be killing two birds with one stone.
2. If you find a bug or other eavesdropping equipment in your home or on your lot, destroy it without hesitation. No one can punish you for doing so. Practice indicates that there is not much sense in calling the National Security Corps (or perhaps only after destroying the bug) and requesting an investigation. The National Security Corps would only return the bug to State Security, which then would merely install it in another person's apartment.
3. Among the preventive measures we might mention the following. Check periodically for electrical wires you have not seen before. If you suspect that your home is bugged, frequently leave your radio switched on during the day while you are at work or away from home. Assuming that you have an adapter for your transistor radio, its operation will cost you only a few pennies a day. But this can help to discharge the bug's battery and to fill the reels of tape with the rubbish of the Hvezda radio station. A blaring radio, or two radios tuned to different stations, make eavesdropping very difficult.

Photography

During interrogation, some of us have been confronted with photographs taken under unusual conditions. Let us review briefly what can be achieved with modern photographic techniques.

It is possible to take photographs through a mirror (the camera being hidden behind the mirror), through matted glass, for example: from the interior of an ambulance, etc.

Photographing at night does not pose any problem. First, very sensitive films are available. And secondly, there are infrared instruments for surveillance or photography at night. A reflector of infrared light, not visible to the human eye, can illuminate the surroundings with a narrow beam, to a distance of 500 meters. A photograph can then be taken with the help of a special telescope or film. The cost of such equipment is 6000 to 7000 Tuzex korunas.

Even better is the instrument that electronically amplifies so-called relict light. Such an instrument costs 30,000 Tuzex korunas. It does not require a separate light sources. The relict (or residual) light from stars or weak moonlight is sufficient for outdoor surveillance.

Cameras, of course, may be automatically controlled, and with the aid of tele-objective lenses they can record visitors, etc. However, the installation of such equipment is fairly demanding and therefore it is used fairly seldom. (Such equipment was installed, for example, somewhere close to the cottage of J. Hochman, in Provodin.)

In this article we have attempted to present a brief and competent review of the techniques that the police organs of totalitarian countries might use to restrict civil liberties and basic rights. All the described instruments belong among the sophisticated equipment offered by specialized Western firms. It is interesting to note that in a number of countries (for example, in the United States, Great Britain, and West Germany) the sale of such equipment is prohibited by law, and instruments of this kind may be sold only for export. It is an open secret that the Eastern European countries' ministries of the interior are full-fledged customers for such equipment. Although the foreign-exchange accounts of these ministries are more than generous, the high prices of these instruments do not permit their procurement and use on a mass scale. And their domestic production encounters considerable problems, in the same way as, for example, the domestic production of pocket calculators. Moreover, as we have attempted to demonstrate, there are many simple countermeasures that considerably reduce the effectiveness of such equipment.

The editors of LISTY will gladly publish contributions by persons who have encountered the techniques of the Ministry of the Interior. Their experience and advice could prove very useful in the struggle for the recognition of human rights. (Editors.)

EAST GERMANY

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE TO CONTINUE DESPITE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 10 Dec 76 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Insists on Ideological Activity in Western Countries." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier, in the East Berlin monthly DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, once again underscored the GDR's intention to affect ideological conflicts in Western countries even under the conditions of peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence neither negated nor canceled the class struggle within the capitalist states, the struggle of the forces of the national liberation movement "against colonialism, neo-colonialism and the imperialist policy of aggression." It was the aim of peaceful coexistence to insure peace as the condition for the existence of all peoples and states in the sphere of interstate relations and thus to create the material preconditions for the peaceful competition between the differing social systems. As the coexistence policy would neither cement the social status quo nor any spheres of interests -- as "imperialist states, in deliberately corrupting the essence of peaceful coexistence, time and again claim it would" -- it also would not suspend the struggle of ideas. That struggle followed necessarily from the juxtaposition of states with opposing social systems.

With reference to cultural relations between Western countries and the GDR, Nier emphasized that there would be no unrestrained cultural and information exchange. Peaceful collaboration in the cultural and scientific fields mainly required respect for the sovereignty of each state and for its laws and for the habits and customs of any given people. "Despite all allegations," the GDR was "wide open for genuine works of art" from Western countries. Also in the fields of information, education and travel, the GDR was engaged in a policy that was "open to the world." At the same time, it opposed, however, any "imperialist attempts," under the "cover" of freedom of information, of human contacts and of free movement, "to discredit our socialist social system and interfere with the internal affairs of the socialist states."

GDR Minister's Commentary

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 21 No 12, Dec 76 signed to press 29 Oct 76 pp 1765-1773

[Article by Kurt Nier, deputy minister, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "GDR Effectuates Successful Policy of Peaceful Coexistence"]

[Text] The development in recent years of the relations between the socialist and capitalist states vividly reflects the changes that have taken place in world politics and shows the basic general trend which has become visible: the turn from political and military confrontation and from the cold war to detente and collaboration. These profound changes in the nature of international relations at present are seen especially in the relations between the European states.

Especially on the European continent international accords could be reached which are making a wide opening for developing the policy of peaceful co-existence and, hence, for collaboration among states with differing social systems, in consequence of the changes in the international power ratio for the benefit of the forces of peace and progress, and thanks to the determined peace policy of the socialist states and of realistic circles active in the capitalist countries. The binding recognition, based on international law, of the results of World War II and of postwar developments in Europe, having as its centerpiece the recognition of the inviolability of the European borders and of the territorial integrity of the states, as well as the bilateral and multilateral obligations assumed for strictly abiding in these relations by such principles of international law as respect for the sovereignty of the states, noninterference in internal affairs, and the renunciation of the use or threat of force -- all these are the cornerstones for the European web of treaties, the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin and other international treaties concluded between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe.

The expression and embodiment of the positive developmental trends in Europe is CSCE. In discussing the political and security questions of the continent, the states taking part in this forum drew up a balance sheet on the European postwar period, set down new points of departure for shaping their relations in the future and, in the Final Act, emphatically endorsed their commitment to effectuating, without reservation, the principles of peaceful coexistence. This grants new and broader perspectives for peaceful international collaboration for the benefit of all participating states and for the good of all European peoples. It is now up to the states on this continent to make use of this opportunity through a realistic policy aimed at detente and collaboration between the socialist and capitalist states.

These positive processes in international development, however, follow no straight line and are not without complications and reversals. Time and again, they are running into the harsh resistance by aggressive and revanchist circles in the imperialist countries that want no part of it.

"Along with the principal trend, toward detente, on our continent, there runs a counter-current. That is seen in the stronger activities by those circles that would want to throw Europe back into the state of the cold war."¹

The socialist states are opposing those activities by their consistent peace policy, with the support from all progressive forces and all that are interested in international detente. The USSR peace program, which is also reflected in the foreign policy goals of the Ninth SED Congress, makes evident to the whole world: the aspirations for peace and international security originate in the essence of socialism, peace and socialism are one and the same thing. Socialism needs peace and creates peace. There is no class, no stratum, in the socialist social system that could have any interest in war or armaments. The profoundly humanistic nature of socialism generates a foreign policy aimed at peace and an imperious rebuke of any imperialist policy of force and war. With it, there follows the recognition, from the objective unity of socialism and peace, that in the strength of socialism lies the ultimate guarantee for peace, security and detente.

Thus, for the socialist states, the policy of peaceful coexistence is the general long-range foreign policy line for shaping their relations with the capitalist countries. It is neither a question of cyclical considerations nor an expression of any temporary tactical position taken vis-a-vis the countries of the capitalist system. The objective necessity for peaceful coexistence grows out of the basic contradiction of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, during which states with antagonistic socioeconomic systems exist side by side. No alternative for peaceful coexistence exists in the age of nuclear armaments and of the permanent threat of nuclear war. But the possibility of enforcing it more and more on an international level have also grown on account of the change in the power ratio in favor of socialism and of the peace forces. By seeing the reality in the development of world politics the ruling circles of imperialism find themselves more and more compelled to use a new approach in forming their foreign policy relations with the socialist states.

The substance of the policy of peaceful coexistence is the strict respect for, and the effectuation of, the international law principles on the inviolability of the borders, of sovereignty and noninterference, of the absolute prohibition of the threat or use of force, the precept for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and the inviolable obligation for respecting all peoples' right to their self-determination.

These international law principles are norms of conduct in the domains of interstate relations, for shaping international politics.

That at once implies that the policy of peaceful coexistence can neither negate nor cancel the effect of the objective inevitabilities in social development, the class struggle within the capitalist states, the struggle by the national liberation movement against colonialism, neocolonialism and the imperialist policy of aggression. It is the aim of peaceful coexistence to insure peace

as the condition for the existence of all peoples and states in the sphere of interstate relations and thus to create the material preconditions for the peaceful competition between the differing social systems.

As the coexistence policy can neither cement the social status quo nor any spheres of interests -- as the imperialist states, in deliberately corrupting the essence of peaceful coexistence, time and again claim it does -- it also does not suspend the struggle of ideas. That struggle follows objectively from the juxtaposition of states with opposing social systems, opposing class rule, property relations and incompatible ideologies in control of them. That is no contradiction to the essence of peaceful coexistence but an objective prerequisite for its effectuation. Abiding by its principles does not mean an end to the ideological struggle "but opens the ground on which scientifically sound argumentation, the ideas' power of conviction and the humanism of its world-outlook can prove themselves."²

With its Ninth SED Congress decisions and its recognition of the CPSU peace program, the GDR has once again demonstrated its willingness for a comprehensive and constructive implementation of the peaceful coexistence policy toward the capitalist states. The concrete shaping and development of its relations with the capitalist countries -- as its foreign policy activities all round -- demonstrate the unity of words and deeds, the unity between the program and its practical day-by-day realization.

Since diplomatic relations were established, relations between the GDR and the capitalist states have developed altogether positively. It is worth mentioning that the GDR has taken a great number of initiatives for constructively shaping all aspects of these relations which would reinforce equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, lend them concrete forms and help bring about international detente.

The GDR -- like the other socialist states -- attributes great importance to the collaboration among states with differing social systems in the political sphere. That encourages better mutual understanding and promotes the creation of an atmosphere of trust, indispensable to constructive consultation on, and solution of, what might be controversial issues. It is meant to create conditions that will exclude tensions or conflicts in these relations or, if they nonetheless arise, lead to solutions by exclusively peaceful means. Stable political relations in turn stimulate fruitful collaboration in many areas, bilateral in nature, facilitate the settlement of unresolved matters and provide a firm foundation for the relations of peaceful coexistence.

Important for the development of political relations between the GDR and the Western states were the meetings Comrade Erich Honecker held, at CSCE in Helsinki and on other occasions, with the representatives and leading politicians of numerous countries. That amounted to an important step toward establishing contacts and cooperation on the highest level.

The chairman and the members of the GDR Council of Ministers are also maintaining lively political contacts. The GDR Foreign Minister's visits with his counterparts in France, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium and Luxembourg, and in the Nordic states, or visits by the foreign ministers of those states in the GDR, as well as the numerous meetings and encounters on the periphery of the UN General Assembly, offered opportunities for discussing important questions of international development, such as international detente and security in Europe, arms limitation and disarmament and problems of multi-lateral and bilateral cooperation.

The various meetings with statesmen of West European countries no doubt make a valuable contribution to deepening the process of international detente and of developing bilateral cooperation.

In that sense also the GDR has developed and maintains vivid parliamentary and communal relations with almost all capitalist states. They serve developing understanding and friendly relations among the peoples and thus belong among the elements which give life to the Final Act of Helsinki.

Contractual frameworks for these relations are an important element of the peaceful coexistence policy because they provide a solid foundation for the collaboration on a bilateral or multilateral level, in any given area, which lends them stability and consistency.

Good progress can be observed within recent years in economic and transport policy and in other areas as well. Since the Helsinki Conference, the GDR has concluded 45 treaties and agreements with capitalist states. With the vast majority of these states, government agreements are now in effect on economic, industrial and, partly also, scientific-technical cooperation or trade agreements. Other accords pertain to areas such as road traffic, aviation, navigation, cooperation in health affairs and posts and telecommunication, radio, television, sports and so forth.

Important for the further development of these relations are the consular treaties concluded with Great Britain, Finland and Austria.

Many other agreements, among them matters of legal aid, cultural exchange, environmental protection and veterinary matters, are now under negotiation or in preparation.

In shaping contractual frameworks for these relations, the GDR advocates that the basic principles of the Final Act of Helsinki, multilaterally agreed upon and solemnly confirmed by the participating states as the foundation for their relations, also be cemented by bilateral agreements. This underscores the high value attributed to these principles as a code of conduct for the states with one another.

The worldwide transformation process of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence also has produced favorable conditions for the development of economic, industrial and scientific-technical collaboration as a material base for the peaceful coexistence policy.

"Based on the close economic cooperation within the socialist community of states," as the SED program puts it, "and guided by the desire for shaping the relations of peaceful coexistence among the states with differing social systems, economic relations with the capitalist states are being developed."³

The realization of this task demands a dynamic boost for our export capacity on the basis of our growing economic capabilities so as to assure the needed imports in accordance with the state plan targets.⁴

GDR economic relations with the industrial capitalist countries have progressed smoothly in recent years. Foreign trade with these countries has doubled from 1970 to 1975. Foreign trade with some of these countries, for instance with France and Italy, has increased by multiples.

Needless to say, a stable political foundation for such cooperation is of great benefit for developing steady trade and economic relations. The conclusion of long-term agreements on economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation places those economic relations on a solid foundation. Mixed government commission are set up for actively promoting such economic and scientific-technical collaboration.

The dynamic development of the GDR economy and the increasing deepening of socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA member countries are producing favorable preconditions for the further development of economic relations with the industrial capitalist countries and for making still more use of the advantages of international division of labor in the interest of the nations.

At fairs and exhibitions -- this year's Leipzig Fall Fair was a case in point -- the interests of West European businessmen in stable and constant business relations with the GDR are clearly being articulated.

The severe crisis manifestations in the capitalist world economy no doubt also stimulate the desire for expanding trade relations, for stable markets in the socialist states.

Within the framework of long-term agreements on economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation, a number of concrete accords were recently signed between GDR foreign trade enterprises and enterprises in capitalist countries, like ICI in Great Britain, Montedison in Italy and VOEST in Austria, on economic cooperation, and they are working out well. Cooperation possibilities extend from cooperation in joint activities in third countries to the exchange of licenses and know-how.

It is not by chance that the great economic projects of the GDR in the current Five-Year Plan, as reflected in the directive issued by the Ninth SED Congress on the development of the GDR economy from 1976 to 1980, are of great interest to the businessmen in capitalist states.

Of great importance in the economic relations with the capitalist states is the principle of equality and mutual advantage. The GDR lets itself be guided by it strictly in its policy.

Yet at the same time, it cannot be ignored that the EEC states continue to erect artificial barriers in their trade with socialist states which arise from a discriminatory policy and express themselves, principally, in import quotas and other constraints on volumes, export controls and other harmful practices in the fields of customs and trade policy.

All that contradicts the Final Act of Helsinki and prevents the full use of those opportunities that are available for trade with the socialist states. It would accrue to the advantage of the EEC states themselves if they were to do away with the existing obstacles and restraints and develop their trade with the socialist states, the GDR among them, on the foundation of the principle of the most-favored-nation status.

An essential aspect of the peaceful coexistence relations with the capitalist states lies in the exchange of intellectual values and in peaceful cooperation in the cultural and scientific domain for materializing international detente. It is precisely this sphere in international relations which is most suitable for serving the mutual spiritual enrichment of the peoples, the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and the establishing of the ideas of peace and good neighborliness among states with differing social systems.

An indispensable prerequisite for having cultural exchange live up to its function of safeguarding international security and peace is that the norms that apply to all spheres of international relations, the principles of international law, which recently were also included in the Final Act of Helsinki, be rigidly adhered to.

Peaceful international cooperation in the cultural and scientific field mainly calls for respecting the sovereignty of each state, for respecting its laws and the habits and customs of its people. As the principles of international law demand that also the exchange and cooperation in the cultural field be placed in the service of peace, humanism, the peoples' understanding and international detente, they thus categorically proscribe their abuse for propagating the ideas of war and violence, racism and chauvinism, immorality and contempt for men.

The true cultural achievements and values of the present and past of other peoples occupy a firm, inextinguishable place in the life of our people. The SED program states: "The humanistic and democratic cultural achievements from all over the world are of great importance to the all round education of the working people. The rich treasures of world culture fostered in the GDR are a great potential for increasing the wealth and inner variety of socialist culture."

Despite all allegations, the GDR is wide open for genuine works of art from Western countries. That is reflected in the scope as well as in the variety of its cultural relations with the capitalist states, about which only some examples may here be cited. For instance, in the 1975/76 theater season, 112 works of contemporary authors of 14 Western countries were produced in the GDR. The situation is similar in the field of publishing, which opens access to the culture of other peoples. From January 1975 to August 1976, the GDR acquired five times as many book publishing licenses for works from the capitalist states taking part in the Helsinki Conference as they acquired for works of the GDR. The development in the fields of movies and television films was much like it.

In the fields of information, education and travel, the GDR is engaged in a policy that is open to the world. At the same time it opposes, however, any imperialist attempts, under the cover of "freedom of information," of "human contacts," or of "free movement," to discredit our socialist social system and interfere with the internal affairs of the socialist states.

The GDR has repeatedly expressed its interest and willingness in developing, and contractually nailing down, its relations with the capitalist states in the fields of culture, education, information and contacts, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, as given expression in the Final Act. If one reviews all these GDR activities vis-a-vis the West European states and draws a final balance sheet on the development of these relations, our policy will appear to have been right. Our view will be confirmed to the effect that the fundamental differences existing in the ideologies and social systems need be no obstacle to many-faceted constructive cooperation, provided the partners approach that cooperation realistically and in strict allegiance to the fundamental principles of international law. Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, has said: "In accordance with the foreign policy line laid down by the Ninth SED Congress, the GDR will continue to let itself be guided in its relations with the capitalist states, including the FRG, by the desire for objective and reciprocally advantageous relations."

A development of the best relations possible also is the most reliable and surest means for thwarting the plans of the enemies of detente.

Given all the progress made, all possibilities for a closer, more rapid, and more lastingly effective cooperation between the GDR and the West European states have by no means yet been tapped.

The GDR is willing to continue making a fruitful contribution to a reciprocally advantageous cooperation among the states of differing social orders in the fields of politics, economics, culture, science, sports and others, based on the coordinated foreign policy course of the socialist community of states. The GDR expects that the capitalist states also will make the efforts needed for it. It is prepared to work together with all states which likewise are interested in achieving permanent and stable peace in Europe and in the world, on behalf of constructive solutions for international problems and of deepening international detente supplemented by military detente.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker's speech, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 16/17 October 1976.
2. W. Lamberz' speech, Ibid., 10/11 January 1976.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 34.
4. Cf. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 81.

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UNREST SEEN DEVELOPING IN BLOC COUNTRIES

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Dec 76 p 6 DW

[Article by Carl Gustav Stroehm]

[Text] In a dramatic appeal three prominent Polish scientists addressed themselves to the public at a London press conference and called attention to the possibility of a Soviet invasion of Poland. Such an invasion in the style of the Prague events of 1968, however, inevitably would end in war, the professors said, because the Polish people would fight.

The words of the three Poles--neo-Marxist philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, historian Adam Michnik and scientist Wlodzimierz Brus--at first sound unreal in a Western Europe that is fully occupied by pension problems, economic-development issues and domestic quarrels of the most diversified nature. But the conflict that might brew there is fully independent from the detente policy on whose infallibility the West has so far relied. Herein lies the actual danger for which the West is not prepared either materially or psychologically. What good are all conferences between East and West if explosions occur in the power sphere in the Soviet Union?

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky--a man whom even his political adversaries cannot deny a certain instinct for the developments in the communist sphere--declared recently that the historical processes in Eastern Europe are proceeding at a 10-year rhythm: 1945-1956-1968. Twenty years have passed since the Hungarian revolution and nearly 9 years since the Prague spring. To go by this, the time would be ripe again. Kreisky added: Experience shows that these events start with the demand for liberalization by the intellectuals. But, if the mass of the people begins to participate in this and a democratization threatens to come--then, as experience shows, tanks begin to roll.

Today we can state that the Soviet Union, being the hegemonic power over Eastern Europe, has not solved one single problem from among those that led to revolutionary eruptions in this area already 2 decades ago. Moscow is unable to offer the East European peoples a future, either intellectually or economically. The Soviet authority in this area is solely based on two factors: On the military power, which keeps these actions under control, and on the fear of most communist leadership groups of these countries that a dissociation from the Soviet Union would be bound to spell their doom in one way or another. The Soviet Union does not have one sincere friend in all of Eastern Europe--with the exception, perhaps, of Bulgaria. Millions of people here have reconciled themselves

to the present preponderance of Moscow, either with a shrug of the shoulders or full of inner anger, or they are now waiting for the moment in which the Kremlin shows a weakness to shake off the disliked Soviet model and embark on a course of their own.

The discrepancy between what the French once termed the "pays reel" (the real country) and the "pays officiel" (the official country) is so great by now that naive Western politicians (among them, also, some from the Federal Republic) tour these countries with a disarming smile without knowing on what volcano they are moving. The Soviet leadership, however, does know what is going on in Poland and elsewhere.

The people in Moscow do not harbor any illusions about the stability of conditions in the "GDR," in Poland, in Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev feels the recoil of Helsinki. The European Security Conference that originally was to serve the purpose of launching a Soviet peace offensive against the West and accelerating the dissolution of the Western alliance, has turned into a boomerang. Everywhere in the East Bloc, concrete political demands are raised against the Soviet system in the name of Helsinki.

Viewed from the Soviet position the state of affairs by the end of 1976 in Eastern Europe is anything but rosy. The Poles are on the verge of open rebellion. The GDR is in a state of agitation. The graveyard silence in the CSSR hides serious internal resistance there as well. East of the central European line of demarcation the communist system is militarily strong, granted, yet it is politically unstable. In the Balkan region the Romanians leave no stone unturned to extricate themselves from Soviet hegemony. In Belgrade Brezhnev tried, to no avail, to persuade the Yugoslavs to retract the decisions of the European CP Conference in East Berlin. The tactical concessions made by Brezhnev during the CP summit in June--the formal renunciation of Soviet power of command over the communist movements--are becoming a danger to Moscow's leadership role. Likewise, Berlinguer's "Eurocommunism" is developing into a fermenting agent of ideological decomposition in the East Bloc, as the Kremlin sees it.

This incapability of Moscow to cope with the intellectual and political changes in its own power sphere contrasts with the gigantic Soviet armament and a terrifying military machinery. Even supposing that the Soviet leaders do not want war, it is necessary to ask this: What will happen if the communists in Eastern Europe lose control over the course of events? The wishful thinking of some West Europeans that "only" the Poles, Romanians, or the Germans beyond the Elbe River would be affected and, hence, we need not be concerned, is no longer quite realistic. The Europeans would be well-advised to retain greatest attention and constant defense readiness as the basis of their Ostpolitik and to distrust "detente"--the Soviet atomic disarmament proposal, which NATO just rejected, surely was not advanced by chance.

SED FEARS SPARK OF INTELLECTUALS UNREST MIGHT REACH WORKERS

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 14 Dec 76 p 4 DW

[Article by Peter Pragal]

[Text] Berlin GDR, 13 December--After premier Stoph, SED Chief Honecker, too, unexpectedly went to Moscow on a brief "friendship visit." The brief ADN report contained nothing concrete about the topics discussed. The timing and the circumstances of the visit allow the conclusion, however, that the economic problems debated at the latest Central Committee meeting were in the center of the talks with General Secretary Brezhnev. Furthermore, the Kremlin boss probably was interested in learning how the SED leadership proposes to cope with the growing uncertainty and unrest in the population.

Political observers thus far have had a hard time ascertaining a clear course of the SED top in coping with the problems that have aggravated since the expatriation of Wolf Biermann. SED functionaries of medium and lower level obviously were not better off. According to reliable information, complaints were raised in the party and government apparatus about a lack of directives. The SED headquarters did not even succeed in keeping internal differences of opinion from becoming known outside.

In the meantime, a uniform and strengthened will for leadership became discernible again. It manifests itself in a growing pressure on critical and oppositional citizens. Visitors report to Western correspondents in East Berlin more and more often that exit applications are rejected by the authorities, or not even considered at all. On the other hand, there is no indication that the GDR leadership ordered a general exit stop. In special cases of family reunion, applications continue to be approved. "We do not work for the wastepaper basket," said the Federal Republics permanent representation in this context.

Renowned artists, too, have a chance to emigrate, provided the party deems it politically opportune. The speedy exit permit for pop singer Nina Hagen, writer Thomas Brasch and actress Katharina Thalbach--all three are friends of Biermann--shows that the SED top has a broad variety of methods for curbing intellectual unrest. The range of the practices applied to this end ranges from party proceedings or termination and professional ban to the approval of emigration.

The harm inflicted in the GDR's cultural life through the ostracism now beginning against intellectuals refusing to toe the line, in the party's view obviously is less important than the risk of a spreading radical-democratic and socialist opposition. In this respect, the fear may play a role, too, that the spark of unrest might jump from the intellectuals to the workers. Events in Poland have warned the SED. It is not without reason that the party lately has promised the working people nearly incessantly it will concern itself with their well-being more than heretofore. For a marked consumption socialism, the East Berlin rulers seem to reckon, as before offers the best guarantee for keeping a society politically under control.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GST GENERAL ASSESSES PREMILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 3 Dec 76 DW

[From the AFTERNOON MAGAZINE, including interview with the chairman of the GST [Society for Sports and Technology] Central Executive Board, Lt Gen Guenter Teller--recorded]

[Text] [Program moderator] A central exchange of experiences on socialist defense education took place in Magdeburg. The following talk was held with Gerd (?Sielex) who had attended this meeting.

[Question] Tell me, how was the level of premilitary training assessed?

[Answer] Well, let me cite a few figures in this connection which tend to prove the enhanced level of premilitary training of the apprentices, of the young people, in the enterprises and institutions of our republic. Lt Gen Guenter Teller, chairman of the GST Central Executive Board, cited them in his opening speech. Thus, about 222,000 young people actively prepare for their honorable service in the ranks of the National People's Army each year, and they account for as much as 90 percent of the young people aged between 16 and 19 years each year. The standardized training programs have proved their worth in all GST basic organizations. I may perhaps supply an example of this as well: today, 90 percent [of the trainees] fulfill the required norms in marksmanship training; a few years back this percentage had been a mere 35, roughly.

I believe, hence, that these few facts show that the awareness of the necessity of defense-political and military-practical training has reached a higher qualitative level, and we obtained first-hand confirmation of this during an instruction demonstration in the morning at which I had the following talk with Lt Gen Guenter Teller.

Comrade General, jointly with many unpaid officials, including GST officials, we observed here today an instruction demonstration by a platoon of the basic organization of the Ernst Thaelmann Combine. Were you satisfied with the training level of this basic unit, with what the GST comrades have demonstrated?

[Teller] Yes, I think we may state that these comrades made great efforts, that they have prepared well for this instruction demonstration. With great readiness for action and enthusiasm, they demonstrated to our guests from the

vocational training sector and to the GST officials what exemplary training is performed here. We are perfectly aware, of course, that not all have as yet reached this level, but we pursue this goal; and it will depend on the capabilities of our officials and instructors to bring about such a level everywhere. This is also necessary because the National People's Army expects us to send well-prepared young people who, upon their induction, will quickly fit into the combat collectives of the army. And by the example shown today, this requires the organization of this training everywhere.

[Sielex] Yes, Comrade General, and this brings us to the actual issue, today's central exchange of opinion of vocational training functionaries. The exchange of opinion aims at giving practical advice for improving training standards. What possibilities do you see there?

[Teller] I think we have agreed in regard to vocational training, particularly in the second year of vocational training will experience monthly premilitary training in camps. On this occasion, I would like to thank all GST instructors for their diligent work and their efforts aimed at improving the quality of premilitary training. I think we have correctly understood this commitment after the Ninth Party Congress and the tasks outlined by the congress, so that we will try to improve the quality of premilitary training.

[Sielex] Well, I think the thanks of Comrade Lieutenant General Teller go to all those people who have managed to combine the premilitary training of GST, FDJ, and vocational training, such as in the Waggonbau Dessau Enterprise or the Mansfield Combine. This is the way, as Comrade Teller said, in which continuous training can be achieved. Military training has been considered by the young people as an inseparable part of their training and education.

Another point of this exchange of experience, which will be continued today and tomorrow in military-political meetings with young workers, is the continuation of military sports activities after vocational training in order to be always well-prepared for service within the ranks of the National People's Army.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR PROSECUTORS DISCUSS ASPECTS OF WEINHOLD CASE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Dec 76 pp 95-99 DW

[Interview with GDR prosecutors Carlos Foth and Peter Przybylski by reporter Hans-Wolfgang Sternsdorff and Ulrich Schwarz in the East Berlin office of the prosecutor general.]

[Text] [SPIEGEL] Why did the GDR legal authorities make it so easy to the Essen Court to acquit Werner Weinhold, the defected member of the people's army? Why didn't you send over your proof, and why didn't you permit the witnesses and experts summoned by court to go to Essen?

[Przybylski] We gave all the existing objective proof to the other side. Ignorance and arbitrary interpretation of the Essen Court as well as its cynical approach to law and order produced this unacceptable decision. And then: There are no immediate witnesses who have seen anything. Weinhold killed the only ones who could have been witnesses.

[Foth] In June we handed evidence material to Prosecutor General Geissel in Hamm. He expressly thanked us orally and later on in writing. He did not say a word at that time that the papers we handed to him were not verified.

[SPIEGEL] The material was supposed to just support your extradition claim. It would not have sufficed anywhere as proof in criminal proceedings. No court could have used such unlegalized copies of a protocol, a technical report on arms, and an autopsy report to the disadvantage of the accused.

[Foth] But, after all, it became the basis of the prosecution. It was sufficient for that. In the main trial the public prosecutor stressed how carefully the material was compiled. Prior to the trial, the court did not tell us a word about the fact that the material was not airtight on some points, that it was dubious, or fragmentary.

[SPIEGEL] Would such papers be sufficient for a GDR court in passing a sentence?

[Przybylski] Of course, we are following the principle that the original proof is the better proof. But the expertises were xeroxed originals handed over by representatives of the GDR public prosecutor, which should suffice in regard to

their genuineness. The expert's opinion on arms clearly indicates that no shot was fired from the arms of the two dead soldiers who had shot at Weinhold allegedly.

[SPIEGEL] Would one of your courts in such a dubious case of used or not used arms prefer to have not just a xeroxed copy of the arms examination report, but the arms themselves plus fingerprint material?

[Foth] No such request was made.

[SPIEGEL] Your own order of proceedings states most clearly in Paragraph 51: "Objects of evidence must be presented at the main trial... report must be kept in the original with the records of the criminal court. They must be produced as much as necessary in the main trial."

[Przybylski] This does not rule out the possibility that a photostatic copy can become a subject of the hearing of witnesses.

[SPIEGEL] Yes, but only if lightning destroyed the original, for instance.

[Przybylski] Let us discuss the witnesses and experts. The Essen Court declared in summer in justifying the cancellation of the warrant issued against Weinhold that the use of firearms is permissible if a GDR citizen is hindered to implement his so-called right of freedom of movement. In doing this, possible witnesses become outlaws from the very beginning and objects of murderous attempts, which will not be punished. The experts in this connection are members of our armed organs, thus belonging to the persons that the Essen Court outlawed. I personally consider it as impossible to appear as witness in a court that outlawed me from the very beginning.

[SPIEGEL] Would you be afraid of being arrested?

[Przybylski] Or, of even being killed because I could have hindered others to make use of their so-called right of free movement.

[SPIEGEL] Mr Foth, you have been to Hamm yourself, you are still alive and you have not been arrested.

[Foth] I assume that I am not registered in Salzgitter (central registration place for illegal actions performed at the wall, the demarcation line and in the GDR). If this pressure was taken from the witnesses and if you really wanted to have them, you could have made the respective assurances. But, this was not done.

[SPIEGEL] The court clearly indicated that it would not have granted Weinhold the right of self-defense and that he would have been sentenced if it would have been clearly proved that he had opened fire. But, how should the judges disprove his assertion that the border soldiers shot at him first?

[Foth] Had the court the intention to disprove this, it would have informed us immediately of the assertion. Moreover, the summons of witnesses arrived only 10 days prior to the main trial...

[SPIEGEL] ...You can travel in 7 hours from Berlin to Essen.

[Foth] No state would let one year pass and then send the summons 10 days prior to the trial.

[SPIEGEL] Would you say it was self-defense if the victims would have fired first?

[Przybylski] Not at all. The way a state implements and views law and order at its borders is up to it alone and its sovereign decisions. The confusion of terms the Essen Court made is a juristically camouflaged instigation of new murder of and terror against such GDR citizens who fulfill their duties according to the constitution. Self-defense means, after all: Those who do not tailor their legal order according to the FRG, "the legal state," are committing an injustice. This is just a new variation of the world domination claim of Federal German justice. This was the case in regard to punishment of Nazi and war criminals, and it is the same in the Weinhold case.

[SPIEGEL] According to the legal order of the Federal Republic, it is important whether a suspect, if handed over to the GDR, would be treated there more to his disadvantage legally than in our country. Weinhold possibly could have been sentenced to death in the GDR. Why didn't you say in your extradition claim that you will not execute the death penalty under certain circumstances--you may have gotten Mr Weinhold that way.

[Foth] The assurance not to execute a death sentence was not made by us in this way in the present practice of relations maintained between both states.

[SPIEGEL] Would such an assurance have been made in the Weinhold case if West Germany juridical authorities had asked for it?

[Foth] Of course I am not authorized to make such assurances. But, in regard to the extradition problem, you cannot expect the GDR to participate in dissolving existing commitments of the present extradition practice based on the basic treaty.

[SPIEGEL] Michael Kohl, the permanent GDR representative in Bonn, said when questioned why the GDR has not supplied legally usable evidence in the Weinhold case that in doing this, the GDR would be supporting the approach of the Federal Republic in this matter. Were you, after all, not interested in a just sentence to be passed in Essen?

[Przybylski] I think this is a collision of two worlds, of the interests of two antagonist classes. Justice for us is a means of politics and of the power of the working class under which man is, considering his dignity and peaceful life as the main things, and nothing else. The citizens of the GDR will not

and cannot accept the fact that capital criminals, who have attacked their most elementary rights, will escape unpunished. Our main effort is directed at holding Weinhold responsible, which has been very much the question so far in the FRG. We owe this to the relatives of the victims, to the protection of GDR citizens and to legal security in our country. We have no other motives.

[SPIEGEL] You said that man is the focal point of your legal order. The freedom of movement belongs to the basic rights of man. According to our legal order, no GDR citizen commits a crime by fleeing over the border. In doing this, he is just implementing his right of free movement--that was stipulated in the UN charter of human rights and confirmed once more in Helsinki. The GDR, too, signed the Helsinki Declaration accepting human rights according to which everybody can leave his own country. Why is flight from the republic still being punished?

[Foth] The right of freedom of movement certainly belongs to the basic rights. But every state handles it according to its own interests. It was stipulated that way by international law.

[SPIEGEL] Do we understand you correctly that you are convinced the GDR grants its citizens every kind of freedom of movement?

[Foth] The same way as the Federal Republic grants it--namely, within the state area, as outlined in your constitutional law.

[SPIEGEL] Would you admit that there exists a certain difference in practice?

[Przybylski] This is explained by political realities, which do not depend just on us. It serves the interests of the people if we see to it that the institutions of the Federal Republic will not hire away such experts as scientists, members of the technical intelligentsia, physicians and the like. It serves the interests of the GDR citizens if we hinder the disappearance (ausschleusung) of a physician. Or, otherwise, 600 persons would lose medical attendance and we would need 10 years for full replacement.

[SPIEGEL] The Federal Republic has no possibility of hiring away skilled workers from the GDR. The GDR border troops see to it. People who are tired of the GDR want to leave the country on their own.

[Foth] Instigated by certain mass media, as in Nazi times.

[Przybylski] FRG authorities have a hand in these activities by issuing West German passes to GDR citizens abroad.

[SPIEGEL] This must be seen in connection with the different ideas about German citizenship. But, let us get back to the Weinhold case. The pictures of the place where the crime was committed, which you sent to our legal authorities, did not even show the bodies of the two border soldiers. "Such a massive change of the place where the crime was committed," the Essen Court said, "Always is a course of mistrust for every judge." What is wrong about that--particularly if the court has no other evidence?

[Foth] Corpses or injured people usually are not found in the same position any more when the criminal police arrive, as they were when the crime was committed. Changes are made everywhere, usually by the first one to appear at the scene, usually trying to help the victim by lifting him.

[Przybylski] You know that securing human life has priority over securing evidence.

[SPIEGEL] But if this life does not exist any more?

[Foth] This cannot be decided on the spot by the border soldier.

[SPIEGEL] Does it mean in regard to the Weinhold case that the GDR border soldiers brought their two comrades to a hospital first?

[Foth] The two were transported away from the border area. It was December and 2 o'clock in the morning and the culprit had to be caught so that he could not kill any more victims.

[SPIEGEL] Assuming the Federal Court as a revision body will annul the Essen decision and pass the case to another assize court for new trial. Would you be dodging again, or would you give usable evidence to the court in a retrial? Would you permit the witnesses and experts to go to the main trial and permit the court to gather evidence in the GDR?

[Foth] A hypothetical question that I cannot answer now. I can only say that every FRG request for legal assistance will be carefully examined by us.

[Przybylski] First of all, we suppose as before that Weinhold must be extradited to where he belongs.

[SPIEGEL] So far, the citizens of the GDR were informed most insufficiently about the Essen sentence. But, simultaneously the GDR press published--one week ago--allegedly spontaneous reaction against the "shameful sentence" of Essen. This is nourishing the suspicion that the Weinhold acquittal was highly welcome for blaming the Federal Republic once again as being "revanchist" and "neoNazi."

[Przybylski] Arguing that way you would insinuate that we give propaganda priority over all the sense and purpose of justice, that we did not care about the relatives of the victims and how they think of the matter and that we do not care about legal interests of the citizens of our state. We cannot be interested in doing that.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

AUTHOR HACKS DENOUNCES WOLF BIERMANN

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 13 Dec 76 p 12 DW

[Article by GDR dramatist Peter Hacks, reprinted from the East Berlin weekly DIE WELTBUEHNE]

[Text] On 20 November 1976 DER SPIEGEL, the sort of bildzeitung for the bourgeoisie, granted poet-singer Wolf Biermann an interview.

I do not have to introduce Biermann, as he has introduced himself. He was in Cologne where he proposed with scientific terminology, rhymed songs and a great deal of eye-rolling and winking that the goal of communism preferably be reached with bourgeois expedients.

Ever since the workers movement came into existence such people have been ousted from the party with the approval of history. And since Biermann, in advancing his doctrine, said very ugly things about the GDR, on the one hand, while hinting, on the other, at the existence of a sort of league for implementing these things whose members seem to call each other comrade, though they certainly are not members of a socialist party that has become known thus far, he, too, was expelled from the GDR.

Now he is in West Germany. I would not say that he acted there as a person disliking to be there. He let himself go fully. Frankly and casually, he disclosed the treasure of his brain and heart, which nobody feeling glum in his surroundings would do.

By assuring simultaneously that he was concerned about building socialism in the GDR, he seems as credible to us, according to what he said, as would DER SPIEGEL if it changed its title, continuing to write what it did under the title "RED FLAG."

For those citizens of my country who want to know how Biermann is, I tell about the interview. You can rightly say in this case that it can be divided into three parts. In the first part Biermann said what he declared in Cologne. He does not like the FRG, he likes his fatherland, and he makes declarations of intent which, of course, are cheap. "The Party Leadership," he said, "should feel relieved after the Cologne performance."

The second part examines the tactical possibilities of Biermann's return to his old political place of work. The third part consists of very ordinary agitation against the GDR. It was not kept in the tone of an examination: Biermann used poor arguments and repelling words. He called the GDR leadership "Stalinist Bigwigs," which is no proper term--regardless of what you think or should think about Stalin.

I would like to deal with the second part, the contents of which are worth discussing. Biermann discussed with DER SPIEGEL the chances of his application for GDR citizenship, with both parties making it clear that this would be an indecent application. "From whom do you expect help?" asked the magazine.

Biermann had many answers.

1. He advised the SED to follow the examples of the PCI and PCF. I do not have to give advice to the SED, but I am asking it cordially not to do that. If it wanted to follow Biermann, the SED would have to establish an imperialist economy and rule in the GDR and be rebellious against that rule. Honestly speaking, I am rather happy that we have passed through all this already, and I wish that these powerful and ingenious fraternal parties should advance as quickly as possible to the point we have reached. This and nothing else is the recipe the philosophers of true socialism are offering to us in all seriousness.

2. It has been approved by Heinrich Boell. You know Boell, he is the host of migrating dissidents over there. Biermann slept in his bed, and I hope he did not find Solzhenitsyn's lice there. I saw Mr Boell on television. He had eyes like a dog drawn by Thurber, and he once more demonstrated his skillful astonishment that counterrevolution is prohibited in socialist countries.

3. He has--as DER SPIEGEL put it--"his people in the GDR." Naturally, he has them wherever he goes. "Could uniting the West German leftists be a task for you?" DER SPIEGEL asked. Che Biermann (moderately) said "At least a pleasant side effect." Sometimes you can really pity him.

Biermann and his interviewers both carefully avoided mentioning the GDR writers who declared in a list that they want to have him back. You note the carefulness. At the press conference one day earlier Biermann was most hopeful in regard to them. I shall deal with that point.

Informed by the socialist press, as I usually am, I do not know the mentioned list completely. I am more irritated by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND than by DER SPIEGEL, anyway, because I read it more often. But, if need be, you can think much about little news and everybody in this profession could have written the list approximately before it was composed.

We authors have been speaking much and for a long time against each other. The subject of dispute always was the same: The right of the poets to be uneducated. Many people think the artist always must say how he feels about something. The others do not deny this. But they fail to see how this correct sentence can keep the artist from casting a glance in the first chapters of "what must be done."

It is certainly a pleasant idea to combine the advantages of socialism with the few advantages of imperialism still left. But at the same time being it is an uneducated idea. It is the desire for chocolate Leninism, and Lenin made of chocolate would melt quickly. Poets claiming the right to be uneducated are committed to be careful with the material they handle. Years ago, when knave Biermann was jabbering away through his magic horn about the petty things crossing his mind, it was most delightful. The rhymes were poor then, too, the verse clumsy, the ideas odd. Even then the words were not important enough to pass without music, and the melodies were not strong enough to pass without words. But Biermann's songs were figurative and odd, as songs sung by shepherds in the heath or by chambermaids in big towns.

When he was driven by his faulty ambition to match himself with Heine's philosophy and Villon's approach to the world, when he abandoned the petty scope of daily life, turning to the scope of the world, he violated the limits of his talent, sinking from the level of a singer of folksongs to that of a cabaret performer. He became what he is, the Eduard Bernstein of a variety show.

Wolf Biermann is not as good as you might think. I am not mentioning that for the first time, and I would not repeat it here unless it were an explanation of him. Biermann overdid it. And the more he overdid it, the more his art needed scandal in addition to his poems and guitar.

Biermann (as other artists concerned) will not feel refuted by me. I approve of this refusal to be judicious. All artists have an eye for art, none of them has an ear for remonstrations. No kind of judgments exert influence on artists, neither critical nor political judgments. Art alone has an effect on art. Poor art can be refuted exclusively by better art. Enough of that, and back to the occasion for Biermann's reconquest.

4. Particularly and finally, Biermann reckons with our state's fear of him. He hints to SPIEGEL that the GDR government was strong as long as it tolerated him but is trembling now that it is rid of him. This contention is intended as its own proof. Biermann draws this conclusion from it. I do not consider him as conclusive as he deems himself.

One of my teeth has been aching since spring. I tolerated the tooth because my dentist had a liver ailment or had gone on a trip. Such were the reasons. Now I plan to have it pulled, really, and I aver that it aches no more now than it hurt in the spring. I do not want to argue, though I could, that thus far I have been trembling but that I am strong now. It just suits me to do it now.

Quite apart from this professional question of proper logic, Wolf Biermann, I think, perhaps rates the fear-triggering level of the socialist society as a bit too low when he discusses his case in this context.

I should not be unjustly chided. My talks with Biermann, when they occurred, were always unrefreshing, without the sincerity of understanding. It is easier for me to talk about him than with him. For fairness sake I intend to leave the last word to him, and among many fine utterances I choose his most golden one:

"Nothing happened in Cologne that would have pained me afterwards."

EAST GERMANY

AUTHOR HUCHEL TELLS OF SED CONDEMNATION

Mainz Domestic Television Service in German 2015 GMT 30 Nov 76 DW

[Interview with Peter Huchel, former chief editor of the GDR periodical SINN UND FORM, by reporter Nasarski. No place indicated--recorded]

[Text] [Question] What was the reason for your conflict with the GDR authorities?

[Answer] The reason was the periodical SINN UND FORM. I did not produce the periodical the way the party wanted it. They tried two times to take the periodical away from me and I was condemned by the Sixth Party Congress.

[Question] What concrete accusations were made by the party?

[Answer] Mr Hager, the chief of the Politburo Cultural Department, said that I had no contact with the workers. He said it was a periodical in a vacuum, carrying nothing about the party. He said I was a "British lord" and a traitor of the fatherland. A little functionary repeated the same a few days later in the evening. He wanted to reap some merits that way, which certainly was not in line with Hager's intentions. He repeated the words "traitor of the workers." Then he looked for another expression and said "you whore poet" (nuttendichter).

[Question] He said that to you personally?

[Answer] Yes, personally. He was very proud of it. I had to laugh because I would have liked to be a whore poet such as Francois Villon.

[Question] What consequences had this condemnation for your work?

[Answer] Actually, no consequences for my work, but I was fully isolated--no phone, no letters. A spy lived across the street, a poor chap. He got a better apartment for it later. I am living very lonely now.

[Question] But you were permitted to keep your files and materials?

[Answer] Yes. But, then my archives were emptied one night. The material was brought to some wet cellar where it rotted. I did not know where to look for my things.

EAST GERMANY

ARTISTS MUST SHOW NO 'IDEOLOGICAL VARIETY'

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1845 GMT 6 Dec 76 DW

[Interview with painter Prof Gerhard [Bonzien] by reporter Wolfgang Reichard, no place indicated--recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The masters of fine arts of Dresden Bezirk will discuss tomorrow their tasks in connection with the 8th GDR Exhibition of Art. Wolfgang Reichard had a talk in this connection with the painter Prof Gerhard Bonzien.

[Question] We met the artist in his Bruehl Terraces studio. Gerhard Bonzien, a national prize winner, teaches a master class at the Dresden Academy of Arts. Professor Bonzien, what issues and problems are the fine artists discussing in Dresden at the moment?

[Answer] Well, we discuss our work, and if we discuss our work--I mean artistic work--we also talk about its effect and the responsibility of the artist in this connection. The effect of art emanates from one's own work. From what one is aiming for. There are enough problems--not just technical, color, or composition problems. Basically, we are concerned about our approach, our own approach, our standpoint which we express in our work. What the Ninth Party Congress meant in speaking of variety and width has had an outstanding effect on the GDR. But it does not mean that our ideology should express variety. Variety applies to our artistic dealing with the subject. I think it is a main point of our development, of our artistic development, in which way artistic work will initiate further social and human developments. In doing this, we must not forget that we bear a special responsibility in the GDR. The geographic location, the immediate neighborhood of FRG imperialism, forces us to think this problem through consistently--I mean absolutely--in regard to our responsibility vis-a-vis the people, also in regard to internationalism and act accordingly.

[Question] What are the criteria for such a basic position of the artist? How can you size them up?

[Answer] I think the political situation is absolutely obvious. The forces acting against our cultural policy in the FRG and against socialism in the GDR are the same forces that acquitted Weinhold who committed two murders. I think that such a fact calls for consequences in regard to our political approach.

This consequence eventually must lead toward approval of socialism that is an expression of approving our life. There can be no such thing as yes, but. You must do your best for the people, for great progress in the world. I would say that we must transform the great spirit of socialism into art, into the best possible art.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

VOLUNTEER LABOR BRIGADE ACTIVITIES TO BE UPGRADED, EXPANDED

Goal: Participation of All Pupils

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 Oct 76 pp 1,2

Excerpts Summer ended only a short time ago, and the OHP Volunteer Labor Brigade commands are already beginning preparations for successive summer activities. This is accompanied by the ambitious intent to assure the participation of all pupils of post-primary schools in a vacation Volunteer Labor Brigade at least once during their studies. The implementation of this goal will mean that the number of participants in the summer OHP will double. There were 180,000 of them this year, and this number should rise to 400,000 next year.

Apparently, it has become fashionable among older pupils to work during the vacation, and the popularity of this form of spending the summer is growing as it gives the opportunity for independently managing the money earned through one's own effort and, at the same time, for gaining the knowledge of the conditions and organization of work in various productive establishments. The educational values of this action are also increasingly appreciated by the parents.

The volunteers worked well, even very well this summer -- according to the prevailing opinion in the establishments and institutions which employed these young people. They worked primarily where they were most needed in industry and agriculture, on large investment projects, on housing construction grounds, in trade and services, at the renovation of historical monuments, in various fields of the economy. The economic effects of this volunteer working summer are substantial, but even more essential is the young people's understanding that through their good work for Poland

they can achieve their own satisfaction and respect of the adult population. The experiences of this summer indicate that a substantial expansion of OHP vacation activities may already be expected in 1977.

This will primarily require an increased number of jobs, proper housing and nutritional conditions for the young people, and an attractive recreational program. The new jobs will be sought for mainly in housing construction, transportation (construction and modernization of railroad lines and roads), agricultural construction, food and processing establishments (fruit gathering) and in the light industry.

This already shows that the most desirable direction is the development of specialized brigades which assemble youth with suitable vocational training. This concerns both boys and girls. Jobs for girls are already quite a problem because the establishments prefer, on the whole, to employ boys and cannot find suitable jobs for girls who already this summer formed a majority of participants in the brigades. A good solution appears to be the assignment of girls not only to simple, light jobs, but also to jobs requiring greater skills in accordance with their education.

The experimental action of individual employment of the young people included 26,000 pupils and students, thus gaining great popularity. In Kalisz Voivodship, for example, employment bureaus were established not only in the city of Kalisz, but also in Ostrow, Ostrzeszow, Jarocin and Krotoszyn, and the Voivodship OHP Command signed agreements with 32 establishments, which made possible the periodic employment of some 1,000 youths. There are also other voivodships which can take pride in achieving even better results. Only Konin, Torun and Wloclawek failed to initiate this action. But it will be developed in the coming summer under the slogan "Vacation for Your Work" and it will affect -- according to expectations -- more than 50,000 pupils and students.

An essential factor of the next OHP summer will be the large assemblies of brigades, at least one in every voivodship, assigned to the most important in a given region construction project, or working in the socially most important branches of the economy, for example, in plants satisfying the market needs. Such assemblies will be the "calling cards" of voivodships in the organization of OHP summer activities.

In order to achieve these far-reaching goals, the Voivodship OHP Commands are beginning to collect information on summer employment opportunities in concrete establishments, labor departments and school district superintendents offices. The mutual contacts of establishments and commands should be maintained throughout the year in order to avoid unpleasant surprises later on both sides, and to familiarize the youth ahead of time with housing and nutritional conditions, and with the nature and conditions of work which will be offered them in summer.

In some cases, this summer, the establishments failed to meet their accepted responsibilities. In Sandomierz, for example, a group of young construction workers who had expected to renovate the historical market place were assigned instead to bottle washing. Such occurrences, even if rare, do harm to upbringing. As of this year, therefore, the correct principle was adopted that no brigades will be assigned to establishments which disregard their obligations.

There were instances, however, that the young people treated their work in a carefree manner, negligently, or failed to arrive in the brigade. In spite of the highly positive appraisal of the volunteer work last summer, such attitudes characterized by a lack of responsibility and conscientiousness should attract more careful attention throughout the school year and during work in the brigade.

Plenary Session

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 5 Nov 76 pp 1,2

Excerpts The second plenary session of the commanders of OHP FSZMP Federation of Associations of the Polish Youth Union, scheduled for 2 days, was called to order in Warsaw on 4 November. Its purpose was to evaluate the achievements up to now and to set forth the main directions of implementation of the educational program through activities of the young generation in the current 5-year period. The program is closely connected with the tasks of the socioeconomic development of the country assigned to the Polish youth movement by the party.

What is and what should be the role and share of the OHP in the socioeconomic development of Poland, in educating skilled young workers -- these are the main theses of the address delivered by Wladyslaw Miskow, commander-in-chief of the OHP.

A small reminder is necessary here. The goals and tasks confronting the Polish youth were transvalued in the early seventies. At the Seventh Plenary Session of KC [Central Committee] PZPR in 1972, a program was formulated of actively including the young people into the process of building a modern Poland. The idea of education through work was at the foundations of the decision concerning the OHP development. This idea was reflected in the resolutions of the Council of Ministers and the RG [Main Council] of the FSZMP.

These decisions find their expression today in more than 400 brigades distributed throughout Poland, with almost 50,000 volunteers working and learning in them. Or in another way: During the past 5 years the OHP included in various forms of activity nearly five million youths. In adjusting themselves to national economic needs, the OHP prepared for them nearly 200,000 people with specific vocations. Some 100,000 young people learned driving and tractor driving. It may also be stated that every 15th person employed in the national economy is a volunteer. Today, the volunteers are noticeable where the industrial future of Poland is being built. Indeed, they work for 20 ministries. Their share in housing construction alone -- as emphasized by Leszek Kalkowski, deputy minister of construction and construction materials -- amounts to 15 apartments delivered for occupancy every day, and the quality of their work is excellent.

But the work of the volunteers can also be viewed as an adventure, according to Klemens Baranowski, brigade commander at the Katowice Foundry. Modern work romanticism denotes the possibility of participation in great projects. This is understood by the volunteers who work on the most difficult sectors in the foundry, and constantly exceed their assigned goals. But there are also problems, as mentioned by Elzbieta Mamrowicz, commander of the "petticoat army" in the Olsztyn Tire Plant. Hundreds of letters are arriving from girls in every part of the country asking for a job in the OHP. But the possibilities are still small (1,500 girls).

The problems of social-vocational adaptation of volunteers, appropriate social hinterland and the development of cooperation with factory organization of the ZSMP were also discussed during the debate. Another important matter is the replacement of the present forms of vocational training with real schools. Such training should only be a form of securing second vocation. This is a necessity, particularly when confronted with tasks

which the OHP has set for the years 1976-1980. One of them is participation in investments for agriculture and the food economy. Experts in technical services for agriculture are particularly needed here. Volunteers will also be needed in housing construction and transportation, in the Lublin coal basin and in Belchatow. These are substantial investments and the experts must be real professionals.

The first day of the conference was attended by Tadeusz Rudolf, minister of labor, wages and social affairs; Stanislaw Gabrielski, deputy chairman of RG FSZMP; and Mieczyslaw Olbrych, secretary of RG FSZMP.

Plenary Session Continues

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6-7 Nov 76, pp 1,2

Excerpts On the second day of the conference chaired by Wladyslaw Miskow, commander-in-chief of OHP FSZMP, the participating brigade commanders conducted discussions in several problem groups. They brought up the most important matters concerning the daily life of the volunteers. These included volunteer self-government, the employment of OHP graduates, adaptation in working establishments, work organization and industrial safety and hygiene on building grounds, forms of vocational training and improvement, proper selection of instructors, and also the the whole area of non-production activity -- tourism, sports, culture and social work.

It is impossible, of course, to enumerate all discussed matters, of which the basic purpose was to define precisely the place and role of the OHP in building a developed socialist society, and to streamline the functioning of the brigade. Below are the most essential demands contained in the statements of brigade commanders.

Franciszek Kagan said that it depends largely on the level of instructors in a plant whether the volunteer will become expert. The truly best workers of an enterprise, capable of transmitting honestly their know-how and experience, should be assigned as instructors of the volunteers. One of the ways of obligating the instructors to constant care of the volunteers would be the announcement of a national competition for the best OHP instructor. Another matter is the necessity of organizing independent volunteer brigades which account for the tasks entrusted to them and receive total credit for it.

However, Zbigniew Dentak, speaking about vocational training, stated that work in a multi-shift system makes difficult the standardization of the method of volunteer training. A foremost need is the replacement of vocational preparation with basic vocational schools having a complete educational program. Roman Chelchowski, commander of an OHP brigade which worked for nearly a year in Cuba, said that work can also be an authentic adventure. Cuba -- in addition to the USSR, the CSSR, the GDR and Mongolia -- has become for Polish volunteers a successive place of international education through work, exchange of experiences, and the making of friends. The group, 65-person strong, worked at the construction of a thermal-electric power plant. The volunteers became true ambassadors of the Polish youth.

Volunteers in blue uniforms are noticeable at almost every work post as they take part in the realization of priority investments. More than a million youths are included in various forms of OHP activity during a year. In 1975, volunteers executed production valued at 86 billion zlotys. Their ambitions, work and exemplary performance of duties merit recognition, and they constantly search for new forms of activity as evidenced by the creation of student labor brigades. This was discussed by Zdzislaw Zandarowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who attended the second day of the conference of OHP commanders.

In defining the directions of OHP activity up to 1980, the participants of the conference emphasized the necessity of establishing large training-educational centers for 600 to 1,500 volunteers. They also stressed the need for increasing the number of brigades working in housing construction, agriculture and food economy, transportation, for more student and girls' brigades, and for including by the OHP more young people, 16 to 18 years of age.

The second day of the second plenary session of OHP FSZMP commanders was attended by Tadeusz Rudolf, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, and by Mieczyslaw Olbrych, secretary of the FSZMP Main Council.

Volunteer Work During School Year

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 27-28 Nov 76 pp 1,3

/Text/ The conclusions drawn from this year's OHP summer action are already bearing fruit in the form of concrete initiatives. In six cities -- Krakow, Gdansk, Lublin, Szczecin, Wroclaw and Warsaw -- the OHP commands have initiated an experiment consisting in the creation of employment opportunities for pupils of above-primary schools during the school year.

Those who achieve good results in education (employment requires the teacher's approval) can work a few or a dozen or so hours a week after classes to earn expense money.

This endeavor is already being introduced into practice. The youths will be employed in this form mainly in health service centers, trade and services, and in auxiliary housing construction work.

The OHP summer action has shown this year that the demand for employing young people is the strongest in these particular fields. Next summer, new jobs will be sought for primarily in transportation, agricultural construction, food and processing plants, and in the light industry. The participation of vacation labor brigades will also increase at the renovation of historical complexes in Zamosc, Sandomierz, Glogowek and also in Torun.

It appears that there are more persons willing to work during vacation than the number of jobs the OHP is able to secure. Therefore, it is not expected that the recruitment of young people for the vacation brigades will particularly increase next year. About 180,000 pupils and students participated in the summer action this year and approximately 200,000 are expected to participate in 1977. Special attention will be given to the organization of specialized brigades. The majority of OHP assemblies will be of this type. At least one such grouping will be organized in every voivodship, on locally most significant construction projects or in socially important branches of the economy, for example, in establishments whose production is geared to the needs of the market.

An essential matter is to provide proper lodgings for the young people -- without luxuries, of course, but under decent

conditions -- mess halls and, also, to take better care of their recreation after work. The shortcomings here are still considerable and the OHP commands are already undertaking concrete discussions on this subject with their contracting parties. But there are also positive examples. The subsistence matters were resolved very favorably and with a thought about the future in Zamosc where the OHP youths are working at the renovation of Starowka.

Individual employment of the young people included this year 26,000 pupils and students, and has become quite popular. This action will be developed next summer under the slogan "Vacation on Your Own Account." The success of this action was instrumental in undertaking the experiment mentioned at the outset.

The newspaper reporters were informed of these and other problems resulting from the review of "the OHP-1976 Summer" at a press conference in the OHP Central Command on 26 November.

1670
CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

DECREE SETS UP PARENTS' COMMITTEES IN SCHOOLS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 3 Nov 76 pp 1-5

/Decree No 362/1976 of the State Council on the Civic Parents' Committees and the Councils of Civic Parents' Committees/

/Text/ Statement of Purposes

The following Decree of the State Council on the Civic Parents' Committees and the Councils of Civic Parents' Committees was issued to provide the organizational and legal framework for parents' active participation in the implementation of the party and state policy on education.

This decree provides for the organization of the civic parents' committees in kindergartens, general schools, trade schools and high schools according to grades or preschool groups and at the level of the institution. The committees are composed of representatives of the parents elected in the latter's general assemblies for a period of 2 years.

For consultation of parents on problems of training and educating youth, the decree provides for the formation, on the county, Bucharest municipal and national levels, of the councils of civic parents' committees, composed of chairmen of the committees in kindergartens, general schools, trade schools and high schools.

The councils of the civic parents' committees are convened annually by the county people's councils or the Ministry of Education and Instruction to discuss the major problems of instructing and educating preschool children and pupils.

The decree also provides that the chairmen of the civic parents' committees serve in the collective or management council of the educational institution, that representatives of the county and Bucharest municipal councils of civic parents' committees serve on the management council of the respective school inspectorate, and that representatives of the national council of civic parents' committees serve on the Management Council of the Ministry of Education and Instruction.

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. In view of the importance of collaboration between school and family in implementing the party and state policy on education, a system of regular contacts between educational institutions and families has been established which is implemented by:

a. The civic parents' committees, organized according to grades and preschool groups and at the kindergarten, general school, trade school and high school levels;

b. The councils of the civic parents' committees, organized at the county, Bucharest municipal and national levels.

Article 2. The civic parents' committees and their councils are organized forms of collaboration between educational institutions and families. They are an aid and a means of society's control over preschool, primary, elementary, trade and high school education.

Article 3. The civic parents' committees and their councils contribute to the implementation of the measures to further improve the instruction and education of pupils and preschool children, technical-productive activities, and practical instruction. They also contribute to the pupils' scholastic and occupational orientation, the social integration of the young generation, and the parents' instruction in problems of child education.

Through their entire effort the civic parents' committees and their councils help to unify the educational activities of the schools and families.

Article 4. The civic parents' committees and their councils operate in close coordination with the educational institutions, the Union of Communist Youth and Pioneer Organizations, women's organizations and other educational elements, under the supervision of the party organs.

Section II: Parents' Committees in Kindergartens, General Schools, Trade Schools and High Schools

Part I: Functions

Article 5. Civic parents' committees perform the following functions:

a. They help the administrations of the educational institutions, the teachers, instructors and instructresses to carry out the programs for further improvement of the pupils' and preschool childrens' instruction and education and for all pupils' attendance and graduation with the best possible results. For this purpose the administrations of educational institutions and the teachers consult the civic parents' committees on the schools' operational plans, the teaching results, and the children's behavior in school, the family and

society. Together they analyze and determine measures to produce the best results in the pupils' instruction and education.

b. They help the school administrations to organize and conduct the pupils' technical-productive activities, for which purpose they are consulted on the program for technical-productive training and practical instruction. They help the economic units to sponsor and equip the schools and participate along with the specialized organs in controlling observance of the standards of hygiene and labor safety wherever pupils' and preschool children's activities are conducted.

c. They participate in the organization and conduct of pupils' extra-curricular educational activities in close collaboration with the Union of Communist Youth and Pioneer organizations, and they enlist parents in the preparation and performance of cultural, artistic and athletic demonstrations and patriotic works, and in the organization of school vacations in summer camps and on trips.

d. They help the administrations of educational institutions and the teachers in the pupils' scholastic and occupational orientation and in the graduates' social integration according to each pupil's aptitudes and the needs of economic development.

e. They cooperate with the teachers in the effort to enroll all children of school age and to ensure their good attendance.

f. They notify the commissions for protection of minors and cooperate with the supervisory organs in cases of children who present educational problems or who need state protection.

g. They help educational institutions to arrange pedagogic lectureships for the parents and to hold conferences, consultations, or discussions on problems of educating school youth.

h. They periodically check children's and pupils' living conditions in kindergartens and schools with lengthy programs or boarding schools, making recommendations for their improvement and inducing parents to take the necessary steps.

i. They help educational institutions manage and maintain school buildings and furniture and enlist parents in the improvement of the pedagogic material base through organization of laboratories, workrooms, shops, agricultural plots and experimental stations, and in the preparation of playgrounds and athletic fields.

Article 6. The civic parents' committees recommend improvements in the process of education and instruction to the administrations of educational institutions and try to solve any problems presented by parents in regard to their children's schooling.

The parents' recommendations and requests are analyzed in the management councils of the educational institutions, who are required, within 15 days, to

notify the civic parents' committees (or the parents of the pupils or preschool children as the case may be) of the solutions of the presented problems.

If they are not satisfied with the resolutions of the requests and recommendations made, the committees can appeal to the county school inspectorates to which the educational institutions belong, and they are required to resolve the problems presented within no more than 30 days.

Part II: Organization and Operation

Article 7. The civic parents' committees according to grades or preschool groups are composed of five to seven members elected from the ranks of parents distinguished in professional, public and family activity whose children show good results in school and good behavior. Masters and instructors or instructresses as the case may be serve on the parents' committees according to grades or preschool groups.

The parents' committees according to grades or preschool groups are elected every 2 years, no later than 15 days after school opens, in the general assemblies of the parents or their representatives when some of the pupils come from communities other than those wherein the schools operate. The general assemblies are convened by masters and instructors or instructresses as the case may be.

The committees are elected annually, from the small group to the first and fifth grades and the first and third years.

The committees elect one of their members as chairman and meet monthly or whenever necessary as convened by the chairman.

Article 8. The parents' committees for educational institutions are composed of all the chairmen of the parents' committees for grades or preschool groups as well as other parents, elected by the general assembly, who can contribute through their activities to the progress of the respective institution. The director, deputy director or another teacher appointed from the ranks of the collective or management council of the educational institution serves on the committee.

The number of committee members is determined by the collective or management council of the educational institution.

The parents' committees for educational institutions are elected every two years by general assemblies of the parents or their representatives, no more than 15 days after the election of the parents' committees for grades or preschool groups. The general assembly is convened by the director of the educational institution.

In educational institutions with a large number of pupils that cannot organize general assemblies and in high schools or trade schools with pupils whose parents live far from the communities wherein the schools operate, the committee for the educational institution is elected in the assembly of the parents' committees for grades or preschool groups.

Only kindergartens and general schools with one or two teaching positions form committees for the institution, composed of five to nine members elected in a general assembly.

Article 9. The parents' committee for an educational institution is headed by a bureau of 5-11 members elected from the ranks of the committee members. The bureau elects its chairman, secretary, cashier and accountant. The committee chairman is also chairman of the bureau. The director, deputy director or another teacher serves in the bureau in his capacity as a committee member.

Article 10. The parents' committee for an educational institution acts on the basis of an annual operational plan. To carry out the planned programs, the committee can assign its members or other parents temporary or permanent tasks for the duration of 1 school year such as pedagogic propaganda for parents, arrangement of cultural or artistic demonstrations, etc.

The parents' committee for an institution and its bureau meets quarterly, monthly or whenever necessary as convened by the chairman.

Article 11. The chairman of the parents' committee for an educational institution serves in the management council or collective of that institution. In the larger institutions the parents' committees will appoint second representatives of the parents to the management councils.

Article 12. The chairman of the parents' committee for an educational institution or a committee member appointed by the chairman serves as a consultant in the commission for awarding scholarships and in the commissions for admitting children to kindergartens with lengthy programs and pupils to boarding schools.

Article 13. The general assembly of parents or their representatives in an educational institution elects a commission of auditors, composed of three to five parents. Units with few pupils can appoint just one person to serve as auditor. The auditing commission, or the auditor, checks the financial activity of the parents committee at least once a year and reports on it to the general assembly of parents or their representatives.

Article 14. The parents' committees for grades or preschool groups convene general assemblies of parents or their representatives quarterly, on a date determined by consultation with the master, instructor or instructress.

The general assemblies of parents for educational institutions are convened annually, upon consultation of the institutions' administrations by the parents' committees for educational institutions.

The general assemblies analyze, on the basis of the reports of instructresses, instructors, masters or the institutions' administrations, the results of education and instruction at the end of a work period, the committees' performances of their tasks, and other problems concerning the improvement of education and instruction.

Article 15. The general assemblies of parents for grades or preschool groups and for educational institutions, as well as their committees and bureaus, adopt decisions by open vote with a majority of the members present.

The activity of the parents' committees is recorded in a log.

Part III: Financial Activity

Article 16. The parents' committees can earn incomes of their own for the improvement of the pupils' and preschool childrens' educational conditions by organizing cultural, artistic and athletic demonstrations jointly with the educational institutions' administrations. No more than three such demonstrations may be organized in 1 school year, in correlation with the institution's calendar of educational activities, to avoid overtaxing the pupils and kindergarten children. These demonstrations are exempt from the tax on entertainments.

The tickets to these demonstrations are distributed through the parents' committees.

Article 17. The funds acquired by the parents' committees are used, according to their decision, solely to purchase objects of school use that are presented to pupils who have distinguished themselves in competitions, to support the educational activities organized for the pupils in their spare time, and to purchase items essential to the development and maintenance of the material base.

Article 18. The acquired funds, recorded in a log, are deposited and entered in the CEC /Savings and Loan Bank/ savings book to the CEC account or to the open account of the educational institution at the credit cooperative (in rural areas), the holder of which is the committee for the educational institution. The names of the chairman and other members of the parents' committee will be included in the terms for performing the operations.

Article 19. The parents' committees' funds are managed by the committees for educational institutions, which observe the legal standards and consult the administrations of the educational institutions.

Outlays not exceeding 500 lei are approved solely by the chairman of the parents' committee for the educational institution. The outlays are substantiated by legally compiled documents and submitted to the parents' committee for approval at its first meeting.

The inventory and materials purchased out of parents' committees' funds and made available to educational institutions are entered in their records according to the regulations in force.

Article 20. The auditing commission or the auditor reports on the committee's financial activity in the general assembly of parents at the beginning of the school year. The general assembly approves the relief of the committee from its duties.

The records and substantiating documents concerning the operations performed by the former committee are kept in the archive of the educational institution for 5 years.

Section III: County, Bucharest Municipal and National Councils of the Parents' Committees

Article 21. The councils of the parents' committees are county, Bucharest municipal and national consultative organs on matters of party and state policy on education.

Article 22. The councils of the county and Bucharest municipal committees are composed of:

a. The chairmen of the parents' committees of all trade schools and high schools in a county or in Bucharest municipality;

b. The chairmen of the parents' committees of one of the general schools and one kindergarten in each commune and in cities with no more than 10 such institutions;

c. The chairmen of the parents' committees of some general schools and kindergartens in municipalities and cities with more educational institutions, namely one in five general schools and one in 10 kindergartens.

The committee chairmen in the educational institutions specified in Paragraphs b and c are appointed council members by the county and Bucharest municipal school inspectorates within 20 days of the organization of the parents' committees in the educational institutions.

Article 23. The councils of the parents' committees are convened annually by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils to discuss the main aspects of the instruction and education of the pupils and preschool children. On this occasion the school inspectorates report on the results obtained by the county educational institutions in the preceding school year and measures planned for the current school year.

Article 24. The county and Bucharest municipal councils of the parents' committees appoint two or three members to serve in the management councils of the school inspectorates as the parents' representatives.

Article 25. The national council of the parents' committees is composed of 3-4 representatives of each county and 20 representatives of Bucharest municipality, appointed by the county and Bucharest municipal councils from the ranks of their members no more than 30 days after the organization of the county and Bucharest municipal councils of the parents' committees.

Article 26. The national council of the parents' committees is convened annually by the Ministry of Education and Instruction to discuss major problems of instruction and education on the basis of the ministry's reports on the national results of the preceding school year and the schools' tasks in the next period.

Article 27. The national council of the parents' committees appoints three members to serve in the Management Council of the Ministry of Education and Instruction as the parents' representatives.

Article 28. Representatives of the ministries and other central organs with educational institutions under them may be invited to the annual meetings of the councils of the parents' committees, as well as representatives of the women's organizations and the Union of Communist Youth and Pioneer organizations.

Article 29. Those attending the assemblies of the county, Bucharest municipal and national councils of the parents' committees benefit by a per diem and transportation according to the legal standards for employees. The per diem for those attending the county assemblies will be 15 lei and in the case of the national assemblies 20 lei. These outlays are paid by the county and Bucharest municipal school inspectorates.

Those attending will be quartered in hostels and boarding schools.

Section IV: Final Provisions

Article 30. The parents' committees and their councils are supplemented annually by replacing members whose children are no longer pupils of the respective educational institutions with new members.

Article 31. The educational institutions' administrations are required to provide proper conditions for the parents' committees' activity.

Article 32. The provisions of the present decree also apply to organization of the parents' committees in the Pioneers' Homes.

Educational institutions under the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Labor are exempt from the provisions of the present decree.

Article 33. Paragraph 2 of Article 70 of Law No 11 of 1968 on education in the Socialist Republic of Romania is abrogated as of the date the present decree goes into effect.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of
Romania

Bucharest, 2 November 1976.
No 362.

5186
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

POWERS OF TRIAL COMMISSIONS EXPANDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 3 Nov 76 pp 5-6

/Decree No 364/1976 of the State Council to Amend Law No 59/1968 on the Trial Commissions/

/Text/ Statement of Purposes

Practical experience has demonstrated the necessity of amending certain legal provisions to extend the powers of the trial commissions as public organs of jurisdiction and authority.

To this end and in accordance with the provisions of the following decree of the State Council, the trial commissions are also competent to try cases of theft committed outside the place of work, provided that the resulting loss does not exceed the sum of 500 lei.

Moreover, to provide for a more accurate determination of the amount of the fine levied by a trial commission in accordance with the seriousness of the offense and the person of the offender, the fine is limited to 100-3,000 lei.

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article I. Law No 59/1968 on the Trial Commissions is hereby amended as follows:

1. After Article 24 two new articles, 24¹ and 24², are hereby introduced to the following effect:

"Article 24¹. The trial commissions are also competent to try any cases of theft not abetted or concealed by fraud if they were committed outside the place of work and the value of the resulting loss does not exceed 500 lei.

"The trial commissions are also competent to try cases of instigation, complicity, concealment and abetment of the offenses specified in the preceding paragraph.

"The offenses specified in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are not within the jurisdiction of the trial commissions, being subject to the provisions of criminal

law, if the loss was not entirely restored before pronouncement of sentence by the trial commission or in cases where the offenses were committed:

a. By a person shirking useful work or without a permanent residence who leads a parasitic life;

b. By a person previously convicted, with the exception of the cases specified in Article 11 Paragraph 5, or by a person to whom measures of public authority or administrative sanctions provided by criminal law have been applied twice in the preceding 3 years;

c. With unlawful entry into a state socialist unit, cooperative or public organization, or a private dwelling;

d. With seizure of property from the person or by violence.

"Moreover the offenses specified in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are not within the jurisdiction of the trial commissions, being subject to the provisions of criminal law, if they jeopardized or could have jeopardized machines, installations, or other important property or values or could have seriously disturbed the labor process, or if they endangered train traffic, or resulted in any disturbance of railroad transportation.

"Losses are totaled that are caused by repeated offenses before the application to an offender of a penalty or an administrative sanction provided by criminal law or before the adoption of a measure of public authority."

"Article 24². The violations specified in Article 24¹ are tried as follows:

a. By the trial commission competent to try the violations committed at his place of work if the offender is employed or is a member of a cooperative or public organization;

b. By the trial commission under the executive committee or bureau of the people's council in whose territorial jurisdiction he resides if the offender is unemployed or not a member of a cooperative or public organization.

"If the violation is committed by two or more persons jointly, each will be tried according to the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

"The trial commission is notified by the record maintained by the police organs. The trial commission may also be notified by the prosecutor or trial court.

"The decision of the trial commission will be reported to the organ that gave notice and will be posted at the headquarters of the unit or people's council under which the commission operates."

2. Article 27 Paragraph 1b shall read as follows:

"b. The fine of 100-3,000 lei. This measure cannot be taken against the minor who is not gainfully employed."

Article II. Cases in course of criminal investigation or trial as of the date the present decree becomes effective will be transferred to the trial commissions for resolution.

In cases wherein final sentences have been pronounced and execution of the penalty has not begun, the court determines ex officio whether the conditions of Article I Paragraph 1 have been met and applies one of the measures of public authority provided in Law No 59/1968 on the Trial Commissions, as amended by the present decree.

If final sentences have been pronounced and execution of the penalty of a fine or imprisonment has begun, it ceases.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 November 1976.
No 364.

5186
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CHANGES IN PENAL, CIVIL CODES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 3 Nov 76 pp 6-7

/Decree No 365/1976 of the State Council to Amend Certain Provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Code of Civil Procedure, and the Penal Code/

/Text/ Statement of Purposes

The following decree of the State Council amends the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Code of Civil Procedure and the Penal Code for a more accurate determination of the powers of the judicial courts and a more effective sanctioning of criminal offenses.

The provisions of the decree provide for a more complete application of the principle whereby the judgment is implemented in the court of first instance (a court with general powers) and concluded, in case of an appeal, by pronouncement of the final verdict in the county tribunal.

Certain cases that should no longer be excepted from the general jurisdiction of the local courts are transferred to the latter from the jurisdiction of the county tribunals, thus providing for the more prompt resolution of the cases and avoidance of the expenses and travels of the parties and witnesses over long distances.

Moreover, to prevent and adequately combat such serious offenses as rape jointly committed by two or more persons, the decree eliminates from the current regulations the provision whereby the persons who commit such rapes are not penalized if one of them is married to the victim.

The decree also adds to the Penal Code a provision whereby alienation, concealment or any other willful act causing loss of property to the national cultural heritage or the national archival reserve is punishable by imprisonment for 2 to 7 years.

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article I. The Code of Criminal Procedure is hereby amended as follows:

1. Article 26 Paragraph 2c shall read as follows:

"c. The offenses specified in Articles 251-253, 298 and 348-354 of the Penal Code and those specified in Articles 279 Paragraphs 3a and 3b and 280 of the Penal Code, if they involved large or important quantities of weapons, ammunition or explosive or radioactive materials;"

2. Article 27 Paragraph 1a shall read as follows:

"a. The offenses specified by the Penal Code in Articles 174-177, 190, 212, 218, 219 Paragraph 3 (if the offense resulted in a disaster) and Paragraph 4, 223 Paragraph 3, 224 Paragraph 3, 225 Paragraph 3, 226, 229 Paragraph 3, 231 Paragraphs 3 and 4, 232 Paragraphs 3 and 4, 248 Paragraph 2, 273 Paragraph 2, 274 Paragraph 2, 275 Paragraph 3, 276, 282, and 317."

3. Article 28 Paragraph 1g shall read as follows:

"g. The offense of contraband, if it involved weapons, ammunition or explosive or radioactive materials;"

Article II. The Code of Civil Procedure is hereby amended as follows:

1. Article 2 Paragraphs 1a and 1b are abrogated.

2. Article 2 Paragraph 1d shall read as follows:

"d. The grounds for annulment of marriage."

Article III. The Penal Code is hereby amended as follows:

1. Article 197 Paragraph 2b and Paragraph 5 shall read as follows:

"b. The offense was committed jointly by two or more persons;"

"The offenses specified in Paragraphs 1, 2a, 2c, and 2d are not punishable if the offender and the victim marry before the verdict becomes final. In case of participation, under circumstances other than those specified in Paragraph b, marriage between the offender and the victim has the same effects upon the participants."

2. Article 280¹ is introduced after Article 280, and it shall read as follows:

"Violation of Security of Property: Article 280¹. Alienation, concealment or any other act causing a loss of property to the national cultural heritage or the national archival reserve which, according to law, belongs to this heritage or reserve is punishable by imprisonment for 2-7 years."

"If the loss to the heritage or reserve specified in the preceding paragraph was caused by an act constituting an offense in itself, the penalty is that provided by law for the offense committed, the maximum penalty for which is increased by 3 years.

"The act specified in Paragraph 1 is not punishable, and the penalty for the acts specified in Paragraph 2 is not increased, if the offender remedies the consequences of the offense by restoring the property to this heritage or fund before the verdict becomes final."

Article IV. Cases being tried when the present decree becomes effective will continue to be tried by the courts competent according to the legal provisions previously in force, until the verdicts become final.

In case of an appeal, if the verdict is set aside and the case is remanded for retrial, the case will be tried by the court competent according to the provisions of the present decree.

The rules of jurisdiction specified in Article I of the present decree apply to cases undergoing criminal investigation. The documents and actions legally effected before the present decree becomes law will remain valid.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 November 1976.
No 365.

5186
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

POOR WORK ATTITUDES CRITICIZED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Oct 76 pp 1,2

[Article by Ioan Erhan: "The Attitude Towards Work--The Standard and Carrying out of Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] "The formation of the new man must begin with that well known truth - work, the useful social activity which constitutes the determining factor in the formation of social awareness and the moral and political education of the masses. For this reason, it is necessary for us to give priority to educating the people, especially the young, through work and for work".
Nicolae Ceausescu

The day to day realities of our social lives offer an eloquent picture of the contributions that the millions of citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania are making through their work - in plants and factories, in the depths of mines and work sites, in the fields and in laboratories, wherever the wealth of the nation is produced. The force of this open work, the elan, and the competition, which inspires those who are at work, materializes in all the achievements made during the years of socialism, in the sustained pace that the development of our industry and agriculture has known, and in the flowering of science, education, and culture. An especially powerful factor, on a broad, mass scale, during these days of the fall agricultural campaign carried out under difficult climatic conditions, has proven to be the force of new attitudes towards work: from dawn on into the night, under cold winds and rain, millions of people have answered the call of the party as a single body, they have taken part in bringing in the harvest and have ensured the proper flow of items to the objectives of new investments, demonstrating a high civic responsibility and a strong patriotic spirit. This progressive attitude towards work - a definitive trait of the moral profile of the builder of the new order - constitutes, without a doubt, an essential factor of progress and development for our society.

For this reason, in educational activities for the development of socialist awareness, our party has accorded and is according special attention to the cultivation of new attitudes towards work, as all citizens of the country have been. It is known that the Plenary Session of the Central Committee

of the Romanian Communist Party of November 1971 outlined a program of action along the lines of educating all members of our society, and especially the young, through work and for work. The Party Program and the Code of Principles and Norms of Work and the Lives of Communists and of Socialist Ethics and Equality have declared that "work is a fundamental duty, of honor, for each communist, for all citizens". In his speech presented at the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that in the center of all political-ideological educational activities it is necessary to include the cultivation of a like of work.

This major imperative in the development of socialist awareness finds its grand resolution in the Program of Measures for the Application of the Decisions of the 11th Congress and the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in the Fields of Ideological, Political, and Cultural-Educational Work. One can appreciate this as the preoccupation for the crystalization of the most efficient paths and concrete methods of action in view of educating all the members of our society - from the youngest citizen to the adult citizen - in the spirit of the cult of work, springing forth from a higher understanding of one's responsibilities to society. This preoccupation is like a red line running throughout the entire Program of Measures of the party. In carrying out this preoccupation, the party has in view the need to develop a permanent, persistent activity with contributions from all educational factors of society - both from schools and from the range of factors of mass political-educational work, cultural centers, clubs, and culture houses.

Certainly, work has always been a distinctive characteristic of man, one of his natural needs. Dialectic and historical materialism have discovered in work the primary condition of all human life, the factor which "even created man himself". Because of work, man created "the second medium", society with all its civilization, bringing about, in Marx's words, a permanent "withdrawal of natural boundaries". Work has proven to be in the process of historical evolution the source of the development of human civilization. It is the truth that gave inspiration to the paragon of our poetry in the statement that "Work is the law of the modern world, which has no room for the lazy. Each person, the big and the small, owes an equivalent amount of work to the society in which that person lives". However, the cheating out of the fruits of the labors of those who work in the societies divided into antagonistic classes has transformed this work into violence and a burden.

The socialist order, putting to an end for all time the exploitation of one man by another, has brought about basic changes in the content of work. The essence of these changes can be found in the fact that workers, producers, and at the same time owners of the means of production, no longer work for a predatory minority, but rather only for the satisfaction of their needs and the needs of society, with the work of each person representing a contribution to the general progress as the determining criteria of the individual's position in society. In contrast to the older economic orders, which bestowed titles of "nobility" upon those who built their wealth and comfort as a result of the labors of millions of people, the new order reserves the highest values solely for the worker, the one who creates the material and spiritual wealth.

The basic significance of work in our socialist society proceeds, above all, from the fact that work represents a unique source from which to increase socialist property and personal and general prosperity. The good things that each of us rightly desires do not come out of the clear blue sky, we will never receive anything like that, but these things can be obtained only through the work of the entire nation. That is why, under these conditions, work constitutes a basic duty for each member of society.

One can understand that a progressive attitude towards work is the fundamental form of expressing patriotic feelings. Neither the most inspiring words about our country nor the most moving pronouncements of faith can rival productive work as a persuasive force, as an intrinsic value, full of passion and awareness. If in time of trouble a patriot means, above all else, one who takes up arms, then, today, one's patriotic duty implies a total effort in one's work, a permanent effort for the continuing uplifting of the types of creative work.

The importance of work grows even more by virtue of the fact that it contributes directly to the development of the human personality and to the formation of the new man. Life proves that at the high temperatures of work one's character traits are molded and tempered, progressive moral traits are formed, and the collectivist spirit and solidarity between people are strengthened. It is upon these points that special emphasis is placed by the Program of Measures On Education For Work and Through Work. The measures outlined in the Program regarding the strengthening of the applicable character of educational activities of all degrees, the integration of education with production, the organization of productive practices during compact time periods on a continuing basis in high schools and in higher education, and the creation of production units with the framework of educational institutes, all are pursuing the full use of the great educational force of work in the entire process of teaching the young.

The provisions of the Program of Measures outline the many in which, today, the progressive attitude towards work is expressed. The worker who struggles to achieve the tasks of the five-year plan and the pledges assumed under socialist competition, who is never satisfied with the productivity of equipment and who mobilizes his entire understanding and intelligence in order to continually expand them; the researcher who dedicates all his creative efforts in order to allow science to progress and to enrichen the original scientific-technological creations with new achievements so as to expand the power and prestige of our country in the world; the agricultural workers who are trying hard to work the land better on the basis of advanced agro-technology to continually increase its productivity, all prove a superior attitude toward work, an acute feeling of patriotic duty.

Certainly, a progressive attitude toward work presupposes more than just conscientiousness and responsibility in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to the worker. It means to an equal degree a permanent effort for the higher organization of production and work because only within such a framework

is it possible to use rationally the capacities of production and the high parameters of the work hours; it means at the same time a continuing struggle with waste, regardless of the form it may take, the acceptance of new things and dissatisfaction with routine and conservatism. Under current conditions, when the technical-scientific revolution is calling for the continued enrichment and refreshing of knowledge, in step with the new discoveries of science, this attitude means a sustained effort to improve professional training, by speciality, and to continually expand competence.

Certainly, in educational work, in the efforts to cultivate such traits one must keep in mind the fact that the old orders left their imprints upon the awareness of the workers, imprints which do not disappear overnight by themselves. In our society, there are still traces of parasitism, attempts to live without working on the efforts of others, or to cheat society by giving as little as possible and to expect from it as much as possible. Our society, based solely upon work, cannot tolerate such behavior, foreign to the nature of socialist relations and profoundly damaging to progress. In this light, the Program of Measures tasks the political-educational domain to contribute more firmly, more energetically, and more persistently to combat these negative phenomena. Measures will be taken both against laziness and those who only pretend to work, who violate work discipline or who appear indifferent toward public property and who are just asking for the fire of public criticism.

In light of these demands, each of us has a double duty. To work well yourself means not only to do everything so that your contribution is as great as possible, but it also means to help in a comradely manner those around you so they can also work better. New workers cannot gain full satisfaction unless their comrades and collective in which they work take part in successfully achieving their tasks. Any man aware of his social duties cannot remain quiet when he is correctly doing his duty in work if, right alongside, there are others who take pleasure in their inactivity.

Mutual assistance in work has even broader meanings. Thusly, we have in mind collaboration itself between collectives and between enterprises or economic branches. For example, there are units which are rightly proud of their remarkable results, but which cannot brag about fulfilling certain contractual obligations--which creates difficulties for other collectives in their effort to fulfill the production plan. The true way to work well means helping others to work well and, as a result, this means that between enterprises, ministries, or counties there is no room for expression of narrow, egotistical interests, each party having the duty to respect the pledges of the other.

Advancing along the road to socialism, our country has a development program like never before--the Party Program, which is opening perspectives for a prosperity without precedent. The activities to put the provisions of the Program into effect, a vast field of affirmation for an advanced attitude toward work and toward public property which, adopted by all the citizens of the country, will work as a powerful force of the progress of our society.

YUGOSLAVIA

GROWTH IN PARTY AFFILIATION AMONG ARMED FORCES

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 76 p 6

[Article by D. Jankovic: "Who Becomes an LCY Member in the Armed Forces and How"]

[Text] The growth line on the graph showing the number of LCY members in the Yugoslav People's Army has been rising sharply for a full 7 years. The number of communists has almost doubled since 1968. In other words, every other member is a recent arrival. In the first half of 1976, approximately 12,000 young people--mostly servicemen--received their red membership booklets. If this pace were to continue, the LCY organization in the armed forces would be taking in 2,000 new members every month.

This "membership explosion" is certainly impressive. However, a logical question comes to mind: are we not being too generous in passing out red carnations?

Attempts have been made before in numerous LCY organizations in the armed forces to respond to this dilemma, but impressions have been involved more than exact indicators.

To provide a comprehensive picture of our policy on the admission of servicemen to the LCY, the study and research center of the political administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has performed a large-scale study at the request of the LCY conference committee in the Yugoslav People's Army. Three hundred and twenty-nine commissioned and noncommissioned officers were surveyed, conversations with 200 party workers from 17 cities throughout the country were recorded, and 1,300 servicemen were appraised. The results of the study were recently gathered together in an 84-page book.

Before beginning to leaf through this voluminous material, so as not to keep the reader in uncertainty, let us say in one sentence what is written on the final page: the appraisal of policy on the admission of servicemen to the LCY in the armed forces is extremely favorable, even beyond all expectations.

The whole LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and all party officials can be proud of this, of course, but we must not be lulled by self-satisfaction into skipping pages containing reproaches and suggestions, which may be valuable for the further conduct of policy on admission to the LCY.

Carnations in the Right Hands

The commissioned and noncommissioned officers who were surveyed paid numerous compliments to the servicemen who had been admitted to the LCY. The figures are evidence: nearly 96 percent received a mark of excellent or very good, only 0.31 percent a mark of 2 (passable).

Candidates for admission to LCY ranks were usually suggested by the youth organization and by groups of LCY members (in approximately 67 percent of the cases). Considerably fewer recommendations came from the military collectives and basic LCY organizations.

The study also provides an interesting "picture" as to who most wants to become an LCY member and how such a person realizes his desire. Most of the applications for admission are submitted by blue-collar workers, followed by intellectuals (but more of the latter receive membership books).

Another judgment from the field is extremely favorable. Two hundred party workers from 17 cities in Yugoslavia declared unanimously that young people returning from military life with their red membership booklets bring a fresh viewpoint to the work of basic LCY organizations. No member admitted to the LCY in the armed forces has betrayed the confidence placed in him, or has been expelled for poor work, in any of the basic LCY organizations surveyed.

The majority of these party workers pointed to the "advantage of the military environment" for getting to know people well and for preparations for entry into the party. A member of the Prizren opstina LCY committee noted that the armed forces are the "sole channel through which the number of young LCY members is increased in some villages."

Despite all these superlatives, nonetheless, one reproach was heard. Among young men returning from military service, there is sometimes a "pause in activity"--some of them do not become immediately involved actively in the work of LCY organizations. This "short circuit" occurs for two reasons, in the main: either basic LCY organizations fail to accept the returning servicemen as they should, or else the returning servicemen fail to resume party links because of failure to find employment.

The comrades from the opstina committees take the blame for this "sin," since they regard the acceptance of new members as unsystematic--the involvement of returning servicemen in the work of basic LCY organizations "depends more upon the resourcefulness and initiative of the new member."

Abbreviate the "Pause in Activity"

On the basis of what has been heard in the armed forces and in the field, therefore, we might conclude with satisfaction that servicemen admitted to the LCY have justified the confidence shown in them and that the policy of admission to the LCY in military life has proved to be worthwhile. However, we have been paging through this book not to flatter ourselves but to learn some lessons.

Let us mention a few of them.

1. The commissioned and noncommissioned officers surveyed are of the opinion that the "preparatory interval" for admission to the LCY, which lasts at least 6 months, ought to involve more direct coordination between the LCY organization in the military unit and the LCY organization in the localities from which the prospective members originate.
2. It is fine for the youth organization to provide credentials for admission to the LCY in the majority of instances, according to the officers surveyed, but it would be still better if the military collectives were to stand behind them even more than heretofore.
3. Despite the fact that blue-collar workers who are servicemen want most to join the LCY, intellectuals have better luck. The point is not to admit fewer of the latter to the LCY but the desirability of "augmenting the party ranks more freely with working-class men and farmers." This must be kept in mind when the subject matter of the Marxist education program for young people is being selected so as to make training more accessible to the educational potentialities of persons with a lower or intermediate educational background.
4. The "pause in activity" is not only the fault of organizations in the field, although they take the blame for this "sin." We in the armed forces could also do more to shorten this pause or eliminate it altogether. Instead of suggestions, we could offer the experience of certain garrisons that have organized brief seminars for servicemen-communists before they return to their homes. Party workers from town and sociopolitical figures would participate at these preparations, telling servicemen-returnees how to link up with party organizations, what to expect, and prospects for employment.

In conclusion, the survey showed that there are reserves for admission to the LCY among servicemen. As the officers surveyed remarked, there are still exemplary servicemen who deserve to be LCY members "in terms of effectiveness."

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

EVOLUTION OF SUBMARINE CONSTRUCTION HIGHLIGHTED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 76 pp 36-37

[Article by Col Engr Dusan Radanovic: "Submarine Construction--Accomplishment of Our Working People"]

[Text] Without any carryover of experience dating from prewar Yugoslavia, with just a few workers in Istria and foreign designs, we began to accumulate fundamental knowledge about building submarines. A group of specialists was organized at the Shipping Institute in Zagreb to begin gathering and studying the literature and checking out the possibilities of building submarines in Yugoslavia.

We grasped immediately that building submarines is an extremely complicated process and that such programs cannot be approached without organized scientific research and the involvement of facilities throughout the country. Domestic steel of high strength was needed for the hulls. Welding involving the superheating of steel had to be mastered.

To avoid undesirable consequences, work done during construction is subject to extremely precise inspection. Aside from the construction of hulls, many pieces of equipment have been put into production, and their first generations have won respect, e.g., a hydraulic system, a submarine steering device, automatic submerging and surfacing equipment, some navigation equipment, several electrical machines for start-ups, auxiliary electrical equipment, sources of electric power inside the submarine, etc. A considerable segment of our shipbuilding industry and other industry has been involved in all this. The drafting of specifications alone takes 2 to 3 years, requiring the attention of all facilities concerned with the construction of submarines.

Our welders, by mastering a type of welding that is in use in only a few other countries in the world and by doing their work in unusually cramped quarters, have passed the test and have given our country products of high quality. The unique aspects of using equipment under pressure in closed and unventilated premises, high humidity, and restricted opportunities for

acquiring equipment abroad have been the reasons why we in submarine construction have gone the furthest in putting domestic equipment into production. The quality of the construction accomplished thus far is evidence of the high level of development in Yugoslav shipbuilding and of an ability to build submarines for our own navy and for export.

The depths of the sea, the environment in which submarines are operative, conceal many dangers. The consequences in the event of damage can be tragic. Accordingly unusual attention is devoted to developing equipment enabling the crew to live normally and retain mental and physical abilities to accomplish such tasks as regenerating air, maintaining specific temperature and pressure, checking and analyzing the presence of poisonous gases, etc.

A system of impermeable partitions, the surfacing chamber, rescue equipment, and individual equipment for each crewman provide everything that can be offered for rescue from a damaged submarine at the present stage of knowledge.

Outfitting our repair shops and naval bases to accept and maintain submarines and their equipment and weaponry is part of the development of our submarine service, to which special attention is being devoted in our navy.

A whole system of training models has been developed on shore to train submarine crews in addition to practical training in vessels at sea.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. pp 36-37 The submarine Sutjeska has long been submerging and surfacing. This veteran of the submarine fleet will enter naval history in golden letters even though it is neither the newest nor the most modern. After the Sutjeska, we built many better and larger submarines, but it was the first to be built in Yugoslavia. The Neretva, the Heroj, the Junak, the Uskok, and others came afterwards.
2. p 36,
left. Our welders have mastered the technique of welding by superheating steel, a technique in use in only a few of the most developed countries.
3. p 36,
right. Gradually, at a shipyard "somewhere on the Adriatic," the hull of a future Yugoslav submarine is taking shape.
4. p 37,
left. These will soon be launchers for self-guided torpedoes, dangerous submarine weapons.
5. p 37,
right. Parts of the interior of the future submarine are carefully manufactured.